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JOURNAL

OF THE

EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION,

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J. F. I. A.

VOL. I.

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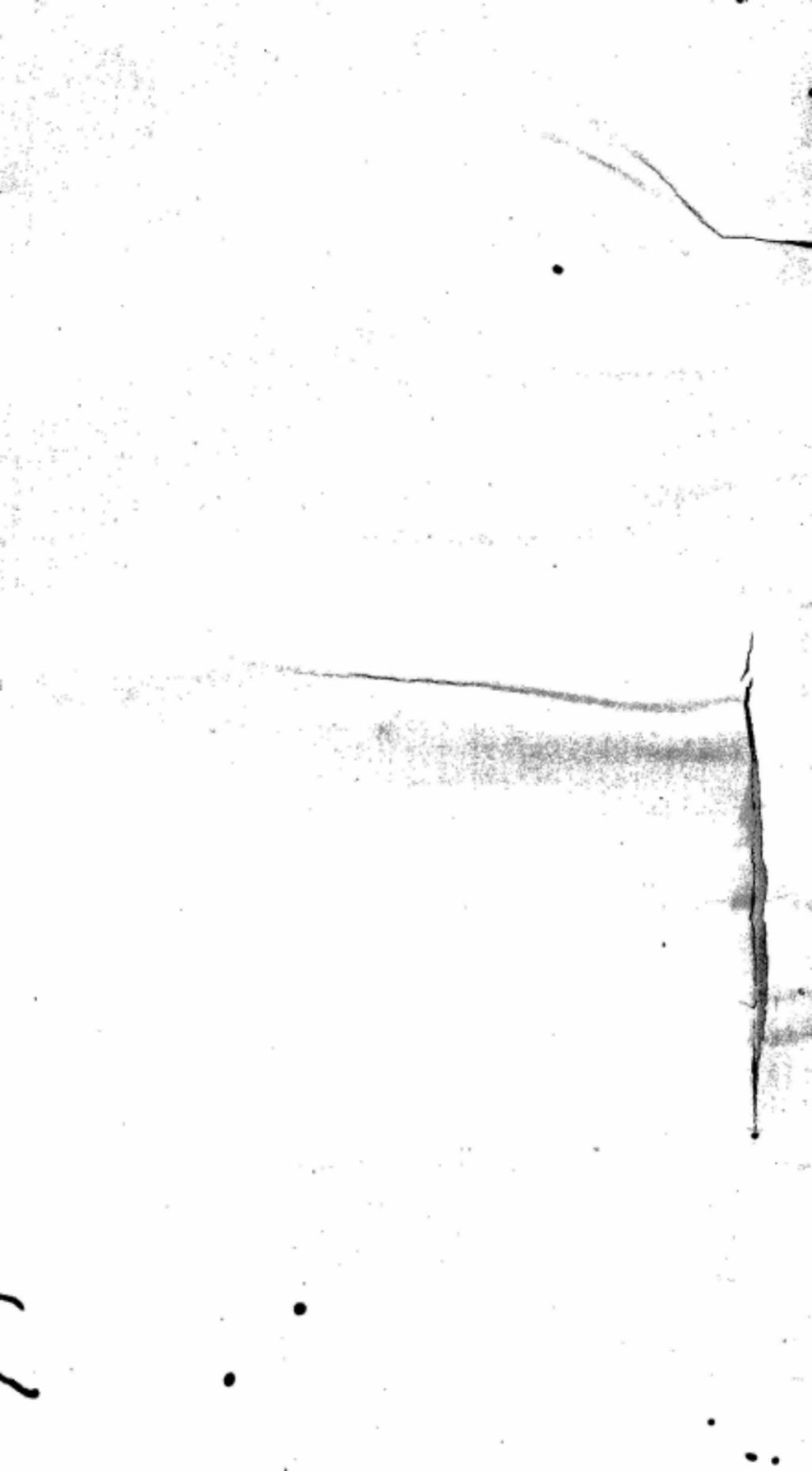
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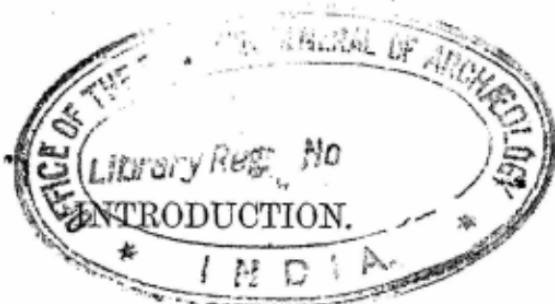
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IN publishing the first number of the Journal of the East India Association, the Managing Committee desire to congratulate the Members of the Association on the success which has hitherto attended the attempt to form a Society for the purposes set forth in the Prospectuses, and Regulations, of the Association.

The support that has been willingly accorded to the Association, by Noblemen, Members of Parliament, Gentlemen who have been connected with India, either as Civil or Military Servants of Government, or as Merchants, and educated Natives of India, proves that an Institution of this kind was a recognised want of the day, and that "the independent and disinterested advocacy and promotion of the interests and welfare of India" is now an object that may be expected to enlist in its support the aid of all those who have those interests at heart.

The discussions which are invited at the Evening Meetings, on the occasions of Papers being read, afford ample opportunities, which have hitherto been wanting, to those gentlemen who are possessed of any special information on Indian subjects, or who may have any particular views to advocate, of having their views and that information placed before the public.

The Managing Committee entertain a confident hope that the Association will increase and flourish, and that it will become one of the permanent institutions of London, and they anticipate that, when the nature and objects of the Society are known in India and China, such liberal donations will be contributed as will place this permanency beyond a doubt.

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RULES
OF
THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION
FOR PROMOTING INDIAN INTERESTS.

1. *Name*.—The Association shall be called “The East India Association,” to be supported by Annual Subscriptions and Voluntary Donations.

2. *Objects and Organization*.—The Association shall be for the independent and disinterested advocacy and promotion by all legitimate means of the interests and welfare of India generally. As an *Institution* the Association will, so soon as the funds permit, provide a Library and Reading Room, and will always afford Members of Parliament, and the Public generally, information and assistance on all Indian subjects within its power. As a *Body*, it will receive communications, direct or through its Local Committees, on all those questions of local or public interest which there are at present no adequate means of bringing to the notice of the Public or Legislature.

3. The Association shall not take any notice of complaints of individuals against the Governments in India or their Civil and Military Servants; unless a question of public importance be involved therein; nor will it undertake to act in any matters that can be decided by Law Courts, or by Appeal to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council.

4. *Members*.—The Association shall consist of *Resident* and *Non-Resident* Members. Those residing in the United Kingdom shall be called *Resident*, and all others *Non-Resident* Members.

5. *Annual Meeting.*—There shall be an Annual Meeting of the Association, to be held during the Session of Parliament, Ten Members to form a Quorum of all Meetings of the Association.

6. *President and Vice-Presidents.*—A President and Vice-Presidents of the Association shall be elected at the Annual General Meeting, and the Managing Committee shall be empowered to offer this Honorary distinction to such influential noblemen and gentlemen as they may deem fit.

7. *Sub-Committees and Local Committees.*—Special Sub-Committees of Members, selected on account of their knowledge of the subjects under reference, of whom Three shall form a quorum, shall be appointed at the Annual Meeting, to take into consideration all matters referred to the Association by the Local Committees and individuals.

8. *The Managing Committee.*—At the Annual Meeting a General Managing Committee shall be appointed, of whom Four shall form a quorum, composed of a Chairman, Six Members, and the Chairman of each of the Special Committees, by whom a Secretary and Treasurer shall be appointed, and the entire affairs of the Association managed.

9. *Local Committees.*—Local Committees shall be appointed in India by Local Subscribers, subject to the approval of the General Managing Committee; and the co-operation of independent Local Associations in India is invited by the “East India Association.”

10. *Election.*—After the 1st January, 1867, any person desirous of becoming a Member of the Association shall be proposed and seconded, and after Election by the Managing Committee shall be required to pay an Annual Subscription, in advance, on the 1st of January in each year, of One Sovereign or Ten Rupees. The payment of Ten Sovereigns or One hundred Rupees in lieu of Annual Subscription, shall constitute Life-Membership.

11. The Election of every Member shall be notified to him in writing by the Secretary, who shall transmit to him, at the same time, a copy of the Rules of the Association.

12. Subscriptions unpaid on the 1st May in each year involve cessation of Membership, subject to appeal to the General Managing Committee.

13. *Special Meetings.*—At the desire of Five Members of the General Managing Committee, or on the written requisition of Ten Members of the Association, the Secretary shall convene a Special Meeting of the Association.

14. *Bye-Laws.*—The General Managing Committee shall have power to make and alter any bye-laws for the management of the Association.

15. *Alteration of Rules.*—No addition to or alteration in these Rules shall be made, except at the Annual Meeting of the Association, previous notice being given in the Circular convening the Meeting.

SUBSCRIPTIONS and DONATIONS can be paid to the LONDON and WESTMINSTER BANK, St. James's Square, London; Messrs. GRINDLAY and Co., 55, Parliament Street, S.W.; Messrs. SMITH, ELDER, and Co., 45, Pall Mall, S.W.; and their Agents in India. Crossed Cheques can be sent to the SECRETARY, by whom formal receipts will be returned. Post Office Orders to be payable at the Parliament Street Post Office.

Gentlemen wishing to become Members of the Association are requested to communicate with the SECRETARY, at the Offices of the Association, 55, Parliament Street, S.W., where a Reading Room is now open for the use of Members.

EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION.

THE First Annual Meeting of the East India Association was held in Willis's Rooms on the 14th of March, 1867—Lord Lyveden, president, in the chair—when the following Report was read by Captain Barber, secretary :—

To the members of the East India Association :—

In accordance with Rule 5 of the East India Association, the general managing committee have convened the first annual meeting of the East India Association, and although but a very short period has elapsed since the formation of the Association, the committee are enabled to congratulate the members upon the success which has already attended the movement, there being now six life members and 125 annual members ; moreover, from the many letters which have been received from India, the future appears full of promise, and at the next annual meeting the managing committee confidently hope to report that the Association has in reality promoted Indian interests ; but on the present occasion the report of the committee must necessarily be comparatively unimportant.

There has at present been no necessity for calling a meeting of any of the sub-committees, but the managing committee have assembled weekly, and there is reason to believe that the Association has been so well received in India that in a short time it will be in a position to take action upon some of the social questions which so largely affect the prosperity of that country.

The managing committee have much pleasure in stating that they have made arrangements for immediately occupying two good rooms at No. 55, Parliament-street, and Messrs. Grindlay and Co. have kindly consented to admit the members of the Association to the free use of their reading-room, where all the principal Indian newspapers are filed, and where information on Indian subjects generally can be obtained. The managing committee anticipate that the members will gladly avail themselves of this privilege.

The managing committee having had under its consideration a reso-

lution which will be proposed by Mr. Elliot to-day, for extending the Association to the colonies, are of opinion that the adoption thereof will be highly advantageous, and they accordingly recommend it to the favourable consideration of the members.

Upon the suggestion of Lord William Hay, it has been determined to hold meetings from time to time, for the purpose of submitting to the Association, and the public generally, original papers upon Indian and Colonial subjects. These meetings will at first be held in Messrs. Grindlay and Co's reading-room, and the managing committee hope in a few days to announce the first of such meetings, at which Lord Lyveden has kindly consented to give a short inaugural address, and Lord William Hay to read a paper upon Mysore.

At the meeting to-day the managing committee recommend the re-appointment of the several officers and sub-committees, with the addition of Sir H. Ricketts to the political sub-committee, and P. B. Smollett, Esq., M.P., on the revenue committee, in lieu of J. Dickinson, Esq., who has declined the appointment. The managing committee have great pleasure in calling attention to the names of the noblemen and gentlemen who have consented to act as vice-presidents, and the committee, in order to further strengthen the Association, recommend the alteration of Rule 6, so as to admit of the nomination of twelve vice-presidents instead of six.

Assuming that the Association is extended to the colonies, it will be necessary hereafter to appoint special colonial sub-committees; but at present the managing committee recommend a general colonial committee, with Mr. F. B. Elliot as chairman.

On the 15th March the new offices will be occupied, and the reading-room will be opened daily from 10 to 6 o'clock. The managing committee will meet weekly, but the chairman and secretary will be in attendance daily, and they will at all times be glad to receive any member of the Association.

(Signed) C. F. NORTH, Major-General,

Chairman of the Managing Committee.

Major-General C. F. NORTH—I beg to move the adoption of the Report.

Colonel SYKES, M.P.—I should like to say a few words on the subject. I have had a letter from Bombay by the last mail, from a distinguished literary native, who has published an account of his travels, and who is editor of "The Times of India," which is one of the most able papers

in India. He speaks with high gratification of the formation of the Association. He says that it has been generally received in Bombay by the enlightened natives there as the augury of future good to the natives of India, and he hopes and trusts that it will be augmented in numbers, and that as far as his friends are concerned it will receive every kind of aid and support from them. I am told that applications have been made to native chiefs in India. We have not had time to receive answers from them, and, therefore, we are somewhat premature, if I may take the liberty of saying so, in our meeting this year. I think that the month of March is not the best month for meeting—in fact, as far as the weather is concerned, it is the worst month; and there is also this other reason for our not meeting in the present month, the want of answers from native gentlemen who have been communicated with in India. As I see the managing committee have the entire power of regulating the time when the meeting shall be held, I venture to suggest that it would be much more desirable for it to take place after Easter, as you would then have fine weather; it would be in the midst of the session of Parliament, the town would be full, and there would consequently be a greater chance of the meetings being more numerously attended. The managing committee have by the Rules power to do it if they like, for the Rules merely say that there is to be an annual meeting "during the session of Parliament." With regard to the question of the colonies, there is a Colonial Association.

The CHAIRMAN—That question is coming before the meeting in the next resolution. If you will allow the Report to be adopted it will come on directly.

Mr. S. P. Low—I beg to second the motion that the Report be adopted. I may say with regard to the last speaker's observations, that I believe the managing committee have called the present meeting for the simple reason that we are just in the position of having to move out of our present quarters into others; and seeing that the finances are not of a nature to warrant a very large expenditure, it was thought desirable before any steps were really taken to extend the benefits of this Association that we should be able to retrace our steps if not approved by the members. If this meeting confirms the arrangement, we are to go to 55, Parliament-street. Now, one of the objects of the Association is a library; and having an opportunity of getting that library, the managing committee (I speak merely as a member of it) thought it desirable to

avail themselves of it; but seeing that we were taking a step which, with the funds we had, might perhaps hardly be warranted, we thought it desirable to call the meeting this year rather earlier than usual—more especially as the subject of extension to the colonies is rather an important one. I mention this merely with reference to our meeting earlier in the year than usual. I beg to second the adoption of the Report.

The motion was put to the meeting, and carried unanimously.

Mr. F. B. ELLIOT—My lords and gentlemen, the resolution which I have now to move will require very few remarks upon my part. It may, however, be desirable that I should state in as few words as possible the reason why I, who have so lately become a member of this Association, should have been selected to fulfil this duty. Since this Association was created for promoting objects connected with the East Indies, and has in fact by its rules and regulations guarded itself against the evils into which such an association might otherwise be likely to fall, inasmuch as it is prevented from becoming an engine or means of attacking any government, or a mere tool of private and personal interest, it therefore fulfils a want which, to my certain knowledge, has been long felt in India; but not less, my lord, has that want been felt in other colonies. I may say that in every colony I have visited I have felt the want of some connecting link, not only with the public and the people, but with the Parliament of this country; and it was the recognition of that want that led me often to discuss the question of the formation of a colonial association. While such a step was under contemplation, I was informed of the existence of this Association, and I was informed also that it was not beyond the bounds of possibility that this Association might consent to extend its operations to other colonies with which it is at present unconnected. In this hope, I and several of my friends joined the Association, and in this hope I now venture to submit the resolution of which notice has been given in the circular. My lord, I find myself in a somewhat anomalous position, inasmuch as I have to propose to the acceptance of this meeting a resolution, with the terms of which I cannot say I entirely approve. I admit that the resolution, as far as it goes, is good; but I cannot conscientiously admit that it goes to the extent to which I should wish it. The success of this Association will depend not only upon its rules, its regulations, and its course of action, but also upon the financial assistance which it will gain from the number of members who join it; and I do think that the onus of proof will

lie with those who oppose its extension to the colonies generally, because if it is good in one instance, it may fairly be argued that proof should be shown why it is not good in other instances of a similar nature. I anticipate that if the objects of this Association are extended to the colonies generally, it will at once receive an amount of support and pecuniary assistance which will enlarge its sphere of usefulness, and ensure its success. The want that has been experienced in India, I will undertake to say, has been felt far more deeply in other colonies, the affairs of which have not the same opportunity of being made known by the public press of this country, and the interests in which are smaller and less well represented than those in India. It is in smaller colonies, where men live and die, and where they bring up their children, that this want is more especially felt than in India, where there is a constant interchange, and ebb and flow of population, and which is, therefore, much better represented. I have no hesitation in saying that I could almost guarantee to this Association an amount of support from other colonies which would be sufficient to ensure its permanent establishment in this country. I wished that some amendment might have been moved to the effect that the words "East of the Cape of Good Hope" be struck out, and in lieu thereof the word "generally" substituted, which would strike away the limitation which occurs in the resolution. I am told, however, that there is nothing in our Rules to prevent any resolution being proposed on the present occasion, and therefore, if I am permitted to do so, I should like to modify the resolution to that extent. I think the best thing I can do is not to occupy your time, the reasons for the course I am suggesting appear so very obvious. It is said that from 3,000*l.* to 6,000*l.* a year ought to be secured in order to give us a permanent home, a good library, and an efficient staff; and it might easily be arranged that no colony should require a separate department—by which I mean separate books kept of accounts and correspondence and matters referring to its affairs—unless it provide a certain number of members, say one, two, or three hundred as the case may be. I am sure you might be quite certain of the colony whose interest was being advocated, and whose correspondence was being registered, paying any proper quota to the expenses of the institution. I hope the resolution in the amended form will be carried; but if not, it will not convince me that the object of it will not be very useful as applied to India only, nor should I withdraw from it myself on that

account, though my interest is only with the other colonies. I propose, then, the following resolution :—“That the aims and operations of this Association, as set forth in its Rules, be extended to the British Colonies and possessions generally, and that the Association shall be henceforth called the East India and Colonial Association.”

Major A. Y. SINCLAIR—I beg to second Mr. Elliot’s proposition.

Colonel SYKES, M.P.—In the first place there are only thirty members of the India Association present, and we consist of 125. It is not usual in any associations or bodies whatever, and, as your lordship well knows, in Parliamentary practice, for anything to be discussed of which previous notice has not been given to all the members. Now would it be safe for us to take upon ourselves here, with thirty members present, to pronounce an opinion for the 100 absentees? And, moreover, those absentees, many of them, are persons of station and rank in India, from whom we are to expect our chief support, and whose interests we are associated together to look after. I think, therefore, we are a little premature in coming to a resolution now; at all events that we ought to give notice of it. It will be quite competent to the honourable mover to call a general meeting, and then, of course, everybody belonging to the Association may come prepared to express his opinion. But I had not the most distant idea of this discussion till I came into this room. We are associated together for the consideration of the interests of the people of India. The people of India consist of twenty-one nations and languages, comprising 184 millions of persons. It is not a colony, it is a great empire; there is work enough before us surely there, and we ought to look with hope to a sufficiency of support from India alone. When we bring in colonial interests, we bring in different elements altogether from those that relate to the rules, the policy, and the feelings that ought to actuate us with regard to the government of India; we bring in colonies with independent Parliaments, with independency of action, and independency of taxation; we are on another footing altogether from the position in which we stand in relation to the people of India. But without discussing the subject at the present moment, I submit to the meeting whether it would be safe, whether, in fact, we can or ought to pronounce an opinion that would overrule the opinion of the hundred absentees. I would suggest therefore, with all courtesy, that notice of the resolution should be given for the next general meeting, so that the whole of the members should have an opportunity of expressing their opinions.

MR. ELLIOT—So anxious am I that there should be no decision taken hastily on this occasion, that for my part I will cordially accept any proposal that will submit the matter to the candid consideration of the whole of the members of the Association, and I should be very sorry if it were considered that they were taken by surprise.

THE CHAIRMAN—I believe, as a matter of order, it is hardly competent to the honourable gentleman to amend his resolution without a fresh notice, because, as he is aware, to enter upon a consideration of the whole of the colonies is a much wider sphere than that which was submitted to the managing committee. I understand that although the managing committee have used the words “Colonial Association,” the only thing before them was the proposition of the hon. member that confined them to India and East of the Cape of Good Hope. To enter upon the question of embracing in the society all the North American colonies, and the other colonies of Great Britain, would, I think, be hardly in order at a meeting called for the present purpose; and if Colonel Sykes, or any member, objects to it, I do not think it will be in order to alter the resolution, not merely verbally, but in so important a manner. If, therefore, the hon. gentleman will submit his motion as originally proposed, and not as altered, there is no reason why it should not be carried, and he can then, if he thinks proper, adjourn the consideration of the further question.

MR. ELLIOT—I unhesitatingly accept the recommendation of the chair.

MR. LOW—I would propose, my lord, as far as the present question is concerned, that this meeting be adjourned. Our regulations, you will remember, were drawn up, I will not say hastily, but without legal assistance, and your lordship will see that there is no necessity for any notice of motion at the annual meeting. The only power we have is to alter the regulations at the annual meeting. Supposing the present opportunity goes by, our friends in the colonies, who no doubt feel a warm interest in the subject, will be precluded from bringing on the question till this time next year, or later. There are no means as far as our regulations are concerned of doing otherwise. I think, therefore, it would be better to adjourn the present meeting for the consideration of this question, and, probably, we should be much more likely to get a good attendance if the meeting were held in the evening, and, instead of one of the proposed papers being read, there should be a

meeting for the consideration of this one point—or rather I would call it an adjourned annual meeting for the purpose.

The CHAIRMAN—It is for the meeting to say whether this question be adjourned or decided upon. I was only speaking on a point of order, as chairman of the meeting, when I said it was unadvisable to alter the resolution without a further notice; but the meeting are perfectly at liberty to say whether they will adjourn the question, or pass the resolution as it stands. I shall, therefore, put it to the meeting that this question be adjourned.

Colonel SYKES—May I say a word, my lord, before you do that? The regulations, I think, have been overlooked. Five members of the managing committee, or any ten members of the Association, have power to call a special meeting at any time they like during the year.

Captain BARBER—The fifteenth Rule states, “No addition to or alteration in these Rules shall be made, except at the annual meeting of the Association.” When Mr. Elliot brought forward his proposition, it was decided to term this meeting the annual meeting, so that the annual meeting might have the power of discussing it if the resolution was opposed.

General NORTH—I think the object is met by adjourning the meeting.

The Earl of KELLIE, C.B.—I beg to second the motion.

The CHAIRMAN—Then the motion is that the meeting be adjourned to a day to be fixed by the managing committee.

The motion was carried unanimously.

Lord ERSKINE—I beg to move the reappointment of the officers and sub-committees nominated on the 1st December last, with the addition of Sir H. Ricketts on the political sub-committee, and P. B. Smollett, Esq., M.P., on the revenue sub-committee, in lieu of J. Dickenson, Esq. The appointment of Mr. Smollett will be subject to his consent, as he has not been consulted yet.

Mr. J. DICKENSON—I beg to second the resolution.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

The CHAIRMAN—The next motion is Lord William Hay's, for the appointment of a colonial committee; but that, of course, must be adjourned with the other, or dropped.

Major SINCLAIR moved, and General NORTH seconded, a proposition for altering Rule 6, so as to admit of the appointment of twelve vice-presidents instead of six.

The CHAIRMAN—Can we fill up the six?

Mr. Low—You can have six now. The managing committee are already in communication with noblemen beyond the six. It would be hardly safe, perhaps, in a meeting of this kind, to mention names, as we have had no answers from them, but I am sure the names would at once command the attention of the meeting. Probably, however, it will be advisable to adjourn the resolution, or to ask power for the managing committee to fill up the names of the vice-presidents—if necessary, that is, if you want a formal resolution.

The CHAIRMAN—It would be better for the managing committee to have power to add to the names of the Vice-Presidents.

Mr. Low—Yes; but I believe Colonel Sykes has an opinion that the managing committee have already great powers.

Colonel SYKES—Yes; I have an objection to grant extended powers to governing bodies.

The CHAIRMAN—There are six now.

Colonel SYKES—And now you want six more. Do not overload us.

General NORTH—It will be better to adjourn the consideration of the point. If the colonial project be carried, you will naturally select, as the noblemen you wish to place in your list of vice-presidents, those who are interested in the principal colonial questions.

Colonel SYKES—This proposal naturally goes with the colonial one.

General NORTH—It might go with it; but still, even if the colonial question is set on one side, I think it will require twelve vice-presidents. You will require to have the power of appointing them at all events.

The question was accordingly adjourned.

Mr. W. C. BONNERJEE—I wish to ask a question. In the second article of Rules it is said,—“The Association shall be for the independent and disinterested advocacy and promotion by all legitimate means of the interests and welfare of India generally.” I want to know the meaning of the word “legitimate,” and how it is applied. No doubt some of our members have antagonistic interests. For instance, we have in Bengal different classes, the ryots and planters; there are a great many ryots and a good many planters members of our society, and there will be many petitions to present to the House of Commons. I want to know how we are to act in a contingency like this. Suppose that two members of our Association send up petitions that are perfectly antagonistic; which are we to adopt, and which are we to reject? and if we adopt either, by

what procedure are we to adopt it? I want also to know the meaning of the word "legitimate." Are we to have any organs to advocate our views, or is it to be done merely by means of our members in the House of Commons? I must say that the wording of this article is exceedingly faulty, and we ought to improve it as much as we can, so that when the people of India see the wording of the article, and understand the machinery by which we want to get to work, they will have more confidence in us than now. Our society will depend for its success on the confidence given to it by the public out in India, but if we go to them in this sort of way, simply saying that we shall advocate their cause, they will not be able to understand us, and probably will not trust us.

General NORTH—With reference to the question as to the mode in which it is proposed to bring forward questions concerning India, of the description which I will call class questions, I would say that in case of two petitions of adverse interests being sent to the Association, they would be submitted to the particular sub-committee appointed to deal with them, and upon the report of the sub-committee the association would decide whether the question should be brought before the Legislature or not.

Mr. BONNERJEE—With reference to that I would say, that the sub-committees will be formed of seven or eight, or probably of ten members. If a question came before the sub-committee, and the sub-committee rejected it, probably the majority of the Association might like to take up the question and advocate it. We ought not, therefore, I think, to delegate the decision of questions entirely to the sub-committee. I think it should be done in this way. The sub-committee should have power to receive any applications that come before them, and submit them to the Association.

Captain BARBER—I believe whatever comes before the sub-committees will be referred by them to the managing committee, to be finally decided upon; the sub-committee reporting to the managing committee, and the managing committee deciding whether such and such a question should be brought forward as a question to be supported by the Association.

Mr. Bonnerjee—But the same objection that is brought forward against the sub-committee, will be brought forward against the managing committee. The managing committee will consist of only six members, and I do not think our action ought to be decided by what they choose

to say we ought or ought not to take up. I think every question of public interest that comes before us ought to be submitted to the Association, and that neither managing committees nor sub-committees ought to have power to prevent our taking up public questions. I would also suggest that the second article of the Rules should be explained in the way that General North mentions, because as it at present stands it is very ambiguous.

Mr. ELLIOT—I would suggest to the meeting that, if this Association is to deal literally and at length with every question that is submitted to it, we shall require to meet every day, and for a considerable number of hours, and yet not get through the work. I think that, upon all these questions, associations are obliged to have recourse to some practical means of sifting the work to be submitted to them ; and inasmuch as the sub-committee, and after them the managing committee, are composed of perfectly impartial individuals, we may trust them to judge on our behalf as to what are the questions that should be submitted to the Association. If any large number of the Members of this Association should be of opinion that a question has been set aside which really requires discussion, and is one that should fairly be submitted to the members, it will, as I understand, be always within the province of any member of the Association to move that the question should be brought forward, or to bring it forward himself at the general meeting, and then the committee of management would be decided in their action by the whole of the general body of the members. I cannot see that the Rules require any alteration in that respect.

Mr. Low—I think, my lord, that Mr. Bonnerjee has overlooked Rule 13. The fact is the managing committee is composed of eight members, and generally the chairman of each sub-committee, consequently there are not only six members as he supposes, but 14 or 16 ; and you will see by Rule 13, that any five members of the managing committee may call a general meeting of the Association. I think we may take it for granted that if any question comes before the managing committee of 14 or 16 (and if we had more sub-committees it would be a larger number), and there were five members forming a minority, they would submit it to the Association generally ; but supposing this is not the case, any 10 members of the Association can demand that the question shall be discussed by the Association generally.

Mr. R. H. POWYS—There is one question I should like to ask with

regard to the expression "east of the Cape"—does that exclude or include the Cape?

General NORTH—The Cape is included in what is called eastward of the Cape.

Mr. ELLIOT—Some part of the Cape of Good Hope is not east of the Cape. The Cape itself is a point. It would include the colony, however, because certainly the greater portion of it is east of the point, and the whole would naturally be included.

Mr. Powys—Is that what is understood by the paragraph?

Mr. ELLIOT—It would include the Cape, of course.

The question of adjournment until a day to be fixed by the managing committee was put to the meeting and carried unanimously.

The Earl of KELLIE—Gentlemen, I beg leave to propose a vote of thanks to the Chairman.

Lord W. HAY.—I beg to second that.

The CHAIRMAN—I am extremely happy to have been able to have taken the chair on the present occasion, and I shall be always most glad to give any useful advocacy to the Society, which I think a remarkably useful one, and very much calculated to instruct the public on the affairs of India. After what has passed to-day I would just venture to ask the honourable gentleman who proposed to extend the Association to the Colonies, both eastward of the Cape and to the other Colonies, whether he could furnish the managing committee with a list of the names which he says he is sure he could bring to subscribe to the Association, because he is aware that the extension would involve an immense additional expense, which must be met by additional subscriptions; and in the consideration of the question of extension, therefore, a good deal would depend on the number of persons willing to join the Society on that condition. If you make the Society a very extensive one, the expenses will be considerably more than would be necessary to carry it out as first started, and therefore you will excuse me for saying that the number of members must be larger in proportion. I can only add that I hope all our meetings will be as pleasant as the present one, and as little calculated to excite controversy.

MAY 2, 1867.

LORD LYVEDEN, PRESIDENT OF THE ASSOCIATION, IN THE CHAIR.

A MEETING of the members of this Association was held at No. 55, Parliament Street, Westminster, on the afternoon of Wednesday, May 2, when a large number of noblemen and gentlemen attended. Lord Lyveden, the President of the Association, occupied the chair, and amongst those present were:—The Earl of Kellie, Lord William Hay, M.P., Lord Erskine, Sir Henry Rawlinson, K.C.B., M.P., General G. Le Grand Jacob, C.B., General C. F. North, Major A. Y. Sinclair, Sir Henry Ricketts, K.C.I.S., W. C. Bonnerjee, Colonel George Haly, Nowrozjee Furdoonjee, J. Matthews, H. Borrodaile, S. P. Low, Colonel W. Leckie, Major-General Sir E. Green, K.C.B., Captain A. Phelps, General Sir J. Sheil, K.C.B., Hormazdji Pestouji, Colonel Kennedy, General Mac-killip, Colonel Burlton, C.B., Dr. Waring, J. W. Sutherland, J.P., Colonel Gordon, General Landers, P. R. Cola, P. Mehta, Captain Sherard Osborne, R.N., C.B., Colonel P. T. French, John Dickinson, Dadabhai Naoroji, Khetter Mohun Dutt, Dadabhoy Byramjee, D. D. Cama, Major E. Bell, Major C. F. Irby, J. H. Preston, Captain Barber, and others.

Subjoined is a full report of the proceedings:—

Lord LYVEDEN, who was warmly applauded, said that as he had the honour of being elected the President of the Association for the year, he wished to preface the opening of the meeting by a few words on a statement of what he conceived to be the objects of the Association, and the results that were likely to accrue from its formation. The statement would not be, however, what his hon. friend Captain Barber had dignified it—namely, an inaugural address—but it would be merely a brief account of what he conceived was the course to be pursued by the Association now that it was established. He was not about to enter into a history of India, of which no doubt many of those present were better acquainted than he was, and therefore a dissertation on that country would be unnecessary; but he was about to point out, as far as he could, a useful course of action for the Association to pursue. They were aware that of late there had been a deficiency of accurate and authentic

information respecting India, as well to private individuals as to the Government of the Crown. There were more means of communication, certainly, through the East India Company than there existed at the present, for people then if they wished to learn anything respecting that country had only to go to the offices in Leadenhall-street, and there they could see the records of what was taking place. But changes had occurred; and he might say that he was one of those who were most anxious to see transferred the power to the Government of the day. He admitted there was not that facility now that there used to be in acquiring intelligence from that country—the facility had been taken away; still there was the same interest as ever manifested for obtaining it, and to afford this was one of the objects which their Association had to promote. But the change in the Government had led to this result—the friends of India had more power, through members of Parliament, of getting access to the Government than they had in times gone by, for then was felt the extreme difficulty that existed of bringing questions before the Cabinet in which perhaps they were not politically interested. Again, he thought that information was much needed by the natives of India as to what was being done in this country respecting them, and assistance was required which they fairly ought to have. He would take the case of native princes who had claims upon this country, and who looked to ready assistance being given them by the Government. When he was on the Indian Board those princes were continually coming over and were constantly falling into bad hands. Some active agent or an attorney got hold of them and promised to forward their claims. Often in fact they submitted their case to the first person who offered himself, who might, for aught they knew, be an impostor, and who oftentimes readily got over them. He remembered one of the native princes, who was not assisted by the Government, telling him of his position on one occasion. He learned from the Prince that he had employed an attorney who was constantly drawing money from him, and telling him that his suit was making rapid progress; and once the attorney actually assured him that he had dined with Prince Albert and the Queen, and that they would very soon take up his cause, and that it would readily be promoted. This sort of thing would be avoided by the establishment of their Association, for its objects would be to unite England to India,—not only to introduce young England to old India, but old India to young

England. When a person had spent the best part of his life in that country, he did not find England, on his coming back, the same as he had left her. He felt a difficulty in getting information and advice, and he did not know where to obtain it ; but with an association like the one they were promoting, he might very readily obtain all that he required. In England there was great ignorance as to what was going on in India, and there was no place where information could be gathered respecting that country. Certainly, at the present time there was an absence of any sort of excitement in respect to India, but nevertheless if there were, they, as an association, would be bound to abstain from all partisanship. It would not do for them to take up the cause of one side or the other ; they must not talk of the question of annexation or of the zealous missionary, either for or against him ; but to all persons who came to them they would most willingly supply information. Every person, were he a native or otherwise, might act upon his own responsibility in matters concerning himself, but he must not ask the Association to bear a part in it. Gentlemen, too, who were anxious to read papers to the Society might do so, but it was not to be supposed that the Society would sanction the doctrines which might be laid down in them. They would be happy to attend and hear the papers read, but the members would not, of course, pledge themselves to follow the advice which they might contain. The object of the Society was to establish themselves on the basis of patriotism and love of truth ; but whether those would be sufficient to carry on with, remained to be seen. They had no pecuniary interest to consider, but they wished to lay down such a plan and such a course of action as would ensure them the benefits and advantages they anticipated. Of course they must all have philosophical and pure intentions to carry that out. They were all exceedingly interested in the welfare of India ; many of them had had, and still have, strong relations there ; they were all deeply interested in its success, and he could only say for himself that he had been deeply attached to that country during almost the whole of his life. In the first years of his existence his father was in India, holding a high position there, so that he always heard of that country with the greatest respect. He had two uncles in the United Service there ; and when he himself entered Parliament he became Secretary to the Indian Board, and afterwards, by the kindness of Lord Palmerston, he was president of it. So that his connexion with that country officially had led to his attaining a great deal

of knowledge respecting it, and had given him an interest in her welfare that could scarcely be excelled, for he might safely say that he had almost the same interest in her as he had in his own country. He did not know there was anything else on which he could enlarge, but he did sincerely hope that the result of the establishment of their Association would be such as all could desire. They could not go forth to perform the physical wonders that had been performed, but they might perform moral wonders of very considerable value. They might accelerate the passage of thought, and if they could not as yet make electric inquiries, they could procure that information which would make such inquiries unnecessary, by basing them upon an accurate and real foundation. The noble lord then introduced to the meeting—

Mr. DADABHAI NAOROJI, who had promised to read a paper on the subject of “England’s duties to India.” Before proceeding he most cordially thanked their noble president and his English friends for the interest they had shown in promoting this Association, not only on his behalf but on that of his fellow-countrymen in India. He would not take up more of their time, but proceed at once with his paper, which he then read as follows :—

Gentlemen,—I propose to discuss the following three questions. Is the British rule in India a benefit to India and England ? If so, what are the best means to make it endure the longest time possible ? Are such means adopted ?

The political condition of India before the consolidation of the British rule was the usual Oriental despotism, with all its regular attendants of disorder, want of law, want of security of property and life, and general ignorance. True it is that now and then monarchs appeared who made the welfare of the country their anxiety and duty. Well may India rejoice in some great names. But it cannot be denied that India was for a long time politically a degraded nation. The intrigues and murders in the families of the many rulers in the different parts of India, their imbecility and their utter incompetence to understand their duties towards their subjects, left the people of India without that powerful political aid which is so vital to the growth and welfare of any nation ; added to this, the constant internal wars between the different rulers completed the obstacles to healthy development. War, oppression, and exaction may be said to have been the normal political condition of India.

In their moral condition the natives of India have been equally

unfortunate during centuries by the influence of an ignorant priesthood, superstition, and some unfortunate institutions, such as Suttee, lifelong widowhood, female infanticide, &c. Materially, India was at a standstill. The agriculturist tilled the soil, reaped the crop, lived upon it and died, just as his forefathers did thousands of years ago. The artisan worked on in the same ancestral way and line. There was utter stagnation, and gradual retrogression. All desire to progress and improve, to develop the resources of the country, had completely died out; on the contrary, the wisest course was that of our "ancestors." The division into castes and distinct professions checked any growth of genius and talent, and prevention from foreign travelling checked any expansion of ideas and general knowledge. On its intellect all the above baneful causes had their full effect. The literature of thousands of years ago is the literature of which the modern Hindu is proud. He can only point to his Kalidas and his Panini, his Ramayan and his Mahabharata, his Veds and his Munu's Institutes.

Contrast with this the results of British rule. Law and order are its first blessings. Security of life and property is a recognised right of the people, and is more or less attained according to the means available, or the sense of duty of the officials to whom the sacred duty is entrusted. The native now learns and enjoys what justice between man and man means, and that law instead of the despot's will is above all. To the enlightenment of the country the results of the universities and educational establishments bear witness. In place of the old general darkness and ignorance thousands of natives have derived, and millions will derive hereafter, the benefit of the highest degree of enlightenment which man has attained. In material progress, it can be easily seen what impulse will be given to the development of the natural resources of the country by railways, canals, public roads, &c. and, above all, by the introduction of English enterprise generally. The social elevation of the people, their rescue from some of the most horrible rites ever known to mankind, and the better sense of domestic, social, and religious duties awakened in them, are boons of the highest importance to a nation sunk for centuries in a debasing superstition. The last but not the least of the benefits which India is deriving at the hands of the British is the new political life they are being inspired with. They are learning the most important lesson of the highest political condition that a nation can aspire to. The freedom of speech which the natives are now learning the necessity of,

and are enjoying, and with which the natives can now talk to their rulers face to face for what they want, is another invaluable blessing.

Such, gentlemen, is the picture the Englishman presents to the natives of India, and asks whether the British rule is not a benefit and a blessing to their nation. Unfortunately, this question is sometimes asked in the manner in which the artist in "Punch" asked the candid opinion of his friend, by first giving the friend a hint that whoever found fault with his picture should deserve to be knocked down. The answer naturally in such a case can be easily conceived. But there are Englishmen, both here and in India, who ask this question in all sincerity of purpose, who in a spirit of true patriotism on the one hand, and true philanthropy on the other, desire a candid reply as much for England's as for India's sake, and the candid answer is sometimes given. Various are the replies, according to the feelings, the interests, and the knowledge of the answerers, and the points of view from which they look upon the matter.

To those who are overthrown and who have lost their power, the question strikes as an impertinence. They are not in a mood to understand all this benefit and blessing, but, smarting under their fall, reply with a bleeding heart, "Blessing, indeed! Rulers of millions, we are now either beggars or rebels." A reply given unfortunately in lines of blood in some of the deplorable events of 1857.

Those who still retain more or less power and state, either real or nominal, and who have now commenced to understand the effects of English rule so far as they are concerned, say:—"It is true that Englishmen always proclaim their justice, honesty, and fair play, but what guarantee is there that their acts will always accord with their words?" The cases of several annexations and of Mysore are a strange commentary upon these professions. These princes naturally wish to be satisfied that the English are really just, that they would always subordinate might to right, and that in their dealings with them honesty and not "empire" would be their guiding principle.

The mass of the people, even up to the present time, understand but little the "benefits." To them the existing Government has always been the sircar; whether it was Mahomedan, Hindu, or British, has not mattered much. They can hardly be expected to understand and appreciate the various benefits in all their different aspects. They see them yet but dimly; in fact, they are often hopelessly puzzled if an attempt is

made to edify them by a lecture on the benefits of British rule. The poor labourer has hitherto had his simple criterion. If he is able to earn and enjoy his little without disturbance, and has his creed tolerated and his feelings not hurt, all is right with him, and his ideal of a happy political condition is realised, no matter who rules over him. If, on the contrary, any causes bring starvation to him, or outrage his religion or his feelings, all is wrong with him, and he curses his Raj, be it English, Mahomedan, or Hindu. But the fusion which railroads are now gradually effecting, and the various questions with reference to labour and the ryots now coming under public discussion, are, however, now teaching this hitherto apathetic and ignorant mass some new political lessons, and creating a new national life: with what result in the future will depend upon the character and conduct of their present British teachers. At present their ideas of benefits, or otherwise, of the British rule, are confined to the conduct of the officials of their district. These officials are all sircar, all "Mabap." They can make the British Raj beloved or hated as they like.

But the reply which most concerns the rulers as well as the future of India, is that of the educated and the thinking portion of the natives. They admit fully the force of the question. They acknowledge the benefits to their fullest extent, and express gratitude. But they say all this is true, but it is not the whole truth. The picture has another side also. Security of life and property we have better in these times, no doubt, but the destruction of a million and a half lives in one famine is a strange illustration of the worth of the life and property thus secured. In the shape of "home charges" alone there has been a transfer of about 100 millions of pounds sterling, exclusive of interest on public debt, from the wealth of India to that of England since 1829, during the last thirty-six years only. The total territorial charges in India since 1829 have been about 820 millions. Supposing that out of the latter sum only one-eighth represents the sum remitted to England by Europeans in Government service for maintenance of relatives and families, for the education of children, for savings made at the time of retiring, the sums expended by them for purchase of English articles for their own consumption, and also the sums paid in India for Government stores of English produce and manufactures—there is then another 100 millions added to the wealth of England. In principal alone, therefore, there is 200 millions, which at the ordinary interest of 5 per cent. will now make up above 450 millions, not to say anything of the far better account to

which an energetic people like the English have turned this tide of wealth. This addition to the wealth of England of 450 millions is only that of the last thirty-seven years.¹ Now with regard to the long period of British connexion before 1829 the total of territorial charges in India from 1787 to 1829 amounts to about 600 millions. Taking only one-tenth of this for remittance for purposes mentioned above, there is about 60 millions in principal, which with interest to the present day, added to the acquisitions previous to 1787, may fairly be put down for 1150 millions.² Thus there are some 1600 millions, if not more, added to the wealth of England from the Indian territorial source ; but, to avoid any possibility of over estimate at all, say 500 millions, an amount not far short of all investments for railways in this country. From commercial returns also it can be shown that during the last fifty years only, England has made no commercial return to India and China for above 300 millions of imports independent of interest, or, in other words, kept this amount as the price of her rule in India.³ England thus derives at present the benefit in the shape of interest alone (not to say anything of commercial and manufacturing profits) of the above 500 millions, some 25 millions a year. In addition to this, the tribute in its hundred shapes continues to flow, and brings to England some 10 millions a year more, or say eight millions ; England, therefore, is benefiting from its Indian connexion to something like 33 millions a year, at an exceedingly low estimate. Besides this extraordinary accession to the wealth of England, India finds at present provision and career, to the exclusion of her own children in both respects, for about 12,000 from the middle and higher ranks of the people of this country, and above 60,000 from the lower ranks, affording much relief to the professions and industries of this country.⁴ Then, there is the political debt of nearly 100 millions as the result of the British rule.

It is easy to speak of the elasticity and irrepressibility of the English revenue, and the honesty of the English taxpayer, and to contrast these favourably with those of India ; but it is not borne in mind that out of the revenues raised in India, nearly one-fourth goes clean out of the country, and is added to the resources of England. Were it not for the opium revenue, so fortunate for India, though one cannot be sure of its morality, the condition of India would have been by this time not a very enviable one.

¹ Appendix A.

² Appendix B.

³ Appendix C.

⁴ Appendix D.

With regard to the expansion of the commerce of India under British rule, the question is whether India has profited by it. The British rulers may claim credit if it can be shown that India has derived some commercial profit from its commerce after paying the price for the British rule.

The foreign invaders of former times had their plunder once for all. They returned to their country laden with spoils, and there was an end of the evil. India by her industry perhaps soon made up the gap in her national wealth. When all other foreign invaders retained possession of the country, and became its rulers, they at least became of the country. If they plundered the rich and screwed the ryot, the wealth was still in the country. If individuals were plundered or oppressed, the country remained as rich as ever. But entirely different has been the case with the foreign rule of the British. In former times the country received blows and bruises here and there, but her vital blood was not lost. The natural action of her constitution sooner or later cured the wounds. But now, as the country is being continually bled, its vitality and vigour must get low, unless permanent improvements already made, or future development of her material resources, shall restore it to its former health. In point of security of life also can it be said that there has been less loss of it during the British connexion than for the same period previously.

There is again the almost total exclusion of the natives from a share and voice in the administration of their own country. Under former rulers there was every career open for the talented. For the voice of a few small boroughs Parliament has been wrangling for years, while the Indian budget of over 40 millions is voted before scarcely a dozen honourable members, and without a single voice to represent the millions who pay the taxes. Why should not 200 millions of your fellow-subjects who contribute so largely to your wealth and prosperity, and who form an integral part of the British empire, have a few representatives in the Imperial Parliament to give their voice on imperial questions?

Such is the reply of the educated and thinking. They admit all the benefits, but urge that if India is now deriving the benefit of law and order, England has also had the benefit of India having enormously contributed to her wealth, and having rendered her one of the mighty powers of the earth. As the reply and feelings of the educated and thinking are of the greatest importance to the rulers, I think it necessary here to show that the opinions I have expressed above are not simple creations of my

imagination. I shall cite hereafter a few instances out of many of the expression of these views from the native papers.

There is no doubt that the influence and enlightenment of the educated being not only entirely the creation of the English rule, but even of the English type, the educated class is grateful for the boon and thoroughly loyal. True it is that historical acts of patriotism, the staunch and deep-rooted patriotism of Englishmen—how they would fight to the last man before allowing an inch of their soil to be conquered by a foreigner, how as it were by the mere wave of the magic wand, to the call of patriotism, 200,000 volunteers suddenly sprang from the ground for the defence of their country—perplex the educated in India, and their patriotism is put to a severe trial. But notwithstanding this perplexity, the educated or thoughtful patriot of India believes that his best patriotism consists in wishing the continuance of the British rule, as he hopes from the high sense of honour and duty of the Briton the future true welfare and regeneration of his country. For instance, while entertaining the views about the drawbacks arising from the present rulers belonging to another country, the *Native Opinion*, an English paper, conducted by educated natives, gladly avows that under English rule educated natives hope their country will doubtless progress, though slowly.¹ The *Rastgoftar*, a vernacular paper, asks, "What better means than education can be shown for not only the good and the prosperity of the people, but love and loyalty towards the Raj?"² Contrasting the European and native rule, the same paper says, "The rule with which the subjects are distressed and dissatisfied, cannot last long. The chief reason why most of the natives like English rule better is, that the Government always strive and desire to promote the happiness of the people."³ The *Bombay Samachar*, a vernacular paper, in the course of an article recommending strongly this Association to the support of the natives, remarks, "that it is not at all wise to fight the present sircar and to raise the flag of independence."⁴ The *Hindoo Patriot*, an English paper conducted by natives, says, "No educated native will prefer any other rule to British rule. England has done to India an amount of good which no other conquering nation has been able to do. So long as this fact is remembered no feelings of disloyalty can exist in the mind of the Indian."⁵ Besides the inference from the above extracts, I can venture to assert, from my own knowledge, that

¹ 2/12/66.

² 7/1/67.

³ 27/1/67.

⁴ 15/1/67.

⁵ 18/12/65.

the loyalty of the educated is undoubted, and it is the more necessary that their views should be known and attended to by the rulers. I give you now the few extracts promised above, to show that the reply I have sketched before, to the question of the benefits to India from the British rule, is not merely my own creation. Referring to "the state of India, the taxes collected in which are partly spent elsewhere," the *Native Opinion* says :—"Native art and trade languish day by day, money becomes more and more scarce, and a general feeling is generated of despondency and despair of all future prosperity for the country and the race. But our would-be economists 'about town' would not let the people of India into the dangerous knowledge that their country has to pay a 'tribute,' nor would they like to lead England out of the unpleasant delusion that India is to her an unmitigated source of weakness and loss. It is true England gives a Government which we could secure at the hands of few other nations (though it may be a form of mere hyperbole to say that India 'is indebted for all the prosperity and wealth it possesses to its annexation to the British Empire,' for before that connexion was formed, classic Ind was not the poorest country in the world, and it was her riches, and *not* poverty, which has tempted one and all of her conquerors, and the company of traders especially, hitherward); but that is no reason why the price of the boon should be pitched so high, or why nothing should be done which fairly could be to lighten the drawback."¹ The *Rastgoftar*, in alluding to the home charges, says :—"Though the subject is an old one, yet it is of extreme importance. Up to this day, by England's dragging away the wealth of this country, Hindustan is crushed down."² The *Suriodaya*, a vernacular paper, has several articles on the duties and shortcomings of the British rule, in the course of which, in giving its opinion as to the undesirability of any other foreign Power displacing the British rule, it says, in illustration :—"A fox having got entangled among some creepers, a swarm of flies pounced upon him to suck his blood. A crow asked the fox whether he might drive away the flies. 'No,' replied the fox, 'these flies are now satisfied, and if you drive them away another hungry swarm would take their place.'"³ The paper farther expresses a hope that England may now be satisfied with what it has acquired, and not covet more, and let the natives have a fair share in the government. The *Bombay Samachar* thinks "the ryots are not so well off now as they once were."⁴ More than twenty years ago, to

¹ 30/12/66. ² 23/12/66. ³ 9/9/66. ⁴ *Native Opinion*, 27/1/67.

my knowledge, a small band of Hindu students and thoughtful gentlemen used to meet secretly to discuss the effects of British rule upon India. The home charges, and the transfer of capital from India to England in various shapes, and the exclusion of the children of the country from any share or voice in the administration of their own country, formed the chief burden of complaint. These gentlemen were otherwise very well disposed. They were no would-be agitators. They were, and have been, peaceful and good citizens and subjects, and have since been either efficient Government-servants, or have followed successfully some independent profession. They were discussing the matter, I think, more to mourn over the event than for any active purposes. At least, they were brooding over it gloomily. The *Hindu Patriot*, comparing Algeria with India, says :—“He Napoleon) has proclaimed the eligibility of the Arabs for all military offices of the empire, and all civil offices in Algeria. The policy of the British Government in India has been rather illiberal in this respect. Until a few years since the civil service of India was a close monopoly ; and even now, when apparently all invidious distinctions have been swept away, the monopoly exists in practice. . . . Indeed, the Mahomedan government, which was admittedly a tyrannical government, was in this respect a more liberal one than that under which we now live. Some of the Hindus filled, during the reign of the Mussulman kings, the highest civil and military offices in the empire.”¹ The *Indu Prakosh* (a Marathi and English paper), in complaining about the examination for the civil service being confined to England, says :—“In fact, if an honest experiment is to be made whether the natives are capable of the highest qualifications for government, there is no way but to open the civil service examination in India. . . . This is the only way of trying the experiment. And if England really governs India as a sacred trust, and is really to be an exception to the general historical truth that even the best government of a foreign people is a curse to the subject race, she cannot but adopt it.”² Alluding to the establishment of a Parliament in Egypt, the *Native Opinion*, says, “India under Britain must not be left behind the country of the Pharos under Ibrahim Patcha.”³ If necessary, I think I can give a volume of extracts from various vernacular and English papers conducted by natives, corroborative of my statements that the educated are thoroughly loyal, and that they feel strongly the loss of wealth to the country, the great necessity for developing its resources, and the exclusion

of natives from a reasonable participation and voice in the affairs of their own country. I hope the short, imperfect sketch I have given above will give some idea of the present thoughts and feelings of different classes of natives. I have endeavoured to give as faithful an account as I possibly could from my own personal knowledge, as well as my reading on the first question.

Now arises, therefore, the important second question I have given at the outset: What are the best means to secure to India the benefits of the British rule for the longest time possible, with the greatest benefit to India as well as to England, and with satisfaction to the people of India? The question has been treated in various ways. First, it is urged by some that India is conquered by the sword, and must be retained by the sword. This I may call the policy of the sword. Second, some advise to treat the natives kindly, but never to give them any share in the administration; or, the policy of kind despotism. Third, equality among all her Majesty's subjects and honesty with the princes of India: or, the policy of justice and honesty.

The first policy simply amounts to this—that England may keep India as long as it can by a strong grasp, and India may drive out England as quickly as it can. No prophet is required to foretell the ultimate result of a struggle between a discontented two hundred millions, and a hundred thousand foreign bayonets. A drop of water is insignificant, but an avalanche may sometimes carry everything before it. The race is not always to the swift. A disaffected nation may fail a hundred times, and may rise again, but one or two reverses to a foreigner cannot but be fatal. Every failure of the natives, adding more burdens, will make them the more impatient to throw off the foreign yoke. Besides, there are some other European nations who, I suppose, would be but too glad to see the British rule in India in such plight. Suppose that England is able to hold by the sword for ever. But is it the infamy of perpetual tyranny and inglorious avarice that is the highest aspiration of the British nation, or the regeneration of a nation and the progress and happiness of mankind? But I shall not do the British people an injustice by discussing seriously this narrow-minded and short-sighted policy. It is utterly contrary and repugnant to the genius and character of the English nation that it could, or would, be a tyrant. It could, or would, no more inflict a despotism over others than it would submit to it itself. It is this circumstance, in fact, which is the principal, if not the only

consolation to the natives of India against all the drawbacks of the foreign rule.

The second policy scarcely deserves better treatment than the policy of the sword. It is not possible in human nature that two hundred millions of people—a people who have known power, wealth, and civilization, government, laws, literature, and art, long before they were dreamt of in these islands ; whose genius has given the world the most intellectual play yet discovered, and who are still unsurpassed in the application of art to manufactures—would quietly remain contented as merely something better than helots, and would be dead to all high aspirations and noble ambition. The expounders of this, as well as the first policy, forget that it is the thought that under British rule lies the hope of a political and mental regeneration, that so well conciliates and reconciles the thinking portion of the native community, and turns their patriotism towards loyalty to the British rule. I appeal to the common-sense of Englishmen, whether a nation is more likely to be long reconciled and grateful to benefactors or despots, even though kind. Declarations of policies like these, though futile, create unnecessary dissatisfaction and distrust in the minds of the natives. The shortsighted persons who make them little know the amount of mischief they do, and the obstacles they throw in the way of peaceful and rational submission to government, and in promoting the sentiments of loyalty which at present is naturally a delicate plant, requiring the utmost care of the rulers to foster and strengthen it. If such policy were actually pursued, India must continue to sink lower in degradation in a worse degree than under former rules or invasions, and the boast of benefits of British rule would only become a mere hypocrisy and delusion, and the rule itself a curse. Each such utterance creates the necessity of thousands of English bayonets. I must however pause, and not do the British people an injustice by discussing this policy any more than the first. Fortunately both for England and India these and such other policies do not find an echo in the British people. They have been and shall be idle words, with the only result of doing now and then some unnecessary mischief.

The third policy, the policy inaugurated by the great and good statesman Lord Stanley, and proclaimed to the people and princes of India in the name of our gracious Sovereign, is the hope of India and anchor of England. You can scarcely conceive the enthusiasm and heartiness with which this proclamation was welcomed by those who understood it. A

new day dawned to them, full of brightness and hope. It is, gentlemen, fortunate and congratulatory that at the present stage of the British rule the policy to be pursued by England towards India is not a vexed question, at least so far as the actual rulers are concerned. The Sovereign and the ministers have finally decided that all-important point, to their great glory, and to the satisfaction of the people of India. It is gratifying and hopeful to find that the statesmen who rule and the thinkers who guide the policy of this country have distinctly seen and clearly enunciated that India should be ruled for India's sake ; that the true and only tower of strength to the English rule is not a hundred thousand English soldiers, but the willing consent and grateful loyalty of the people themselves ; and that when the time comes for a separation, and which I trust is far distant, the world may rejoice in a glorious chapter added to its history, of the regeneration of an old, but long unfortunate race, and India may for ever remember gratefully the benefactors who restored her to more than her ancient splendour and civilization. There is no doubt in my mind that since "the Stanley policy" has been proclaimed, every true patriot of India wishes a long continuance of the present rule. For he knows well that it is by this means only that law and order, political elevation, intellectual development, and material prosperity shall be attained ; that the greatest misfortune that can befall India, and plunge it again into anarchy after having already paid such heavy price for the benefit of the British rule, would be the withdrawal of the British sovereignty. She will have suffered all the evils of a foreign rule without deriving any of its benefits, which are yet but in the seed, and require time to grow and fructify. They hopefully look to a bright future.

The only right policy having been thus decided and proclaimed in the name of the Sovereign, the third question arises, whether the best means are being adopted to fulfil it, to win the loyalty and attachment of the Indian subjects and princes. I am afraid as much is not done hitherto as is desirable and practicable towards the accomplishment of this great object. The difficulties thrown in the way of according to the natives such reasonable share and voice in the administration of the country as they are able to take, are creating some uneasiness and distrust. The universities are sending out hundreds and will soon begin to send out thousands of educated natives. This body naturally increases in influence. The native papers are mostly in their hands. Their loyalty is as yet undoubted. The native press is beginning to exercise a large influence

on the mass of the people. The educated class are becoming their natural leaders. The education, as I said before, is thoroughly English, and therefore highly favourable to the English rule. The isolation of thousands of years is now being broken through. Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, and other places of importance, now freely and fully exchange ideas. A common language among the educated is forging strong bonds of nationality. The railways are producing a similar effect on the mass of the population. They see and know more of each other, and so at least politically their sympathies are growing stronger towards each other. In short, whatever may be the effect in other matters, the nation is now gradually becoming assimilated for political purposes, either for good or for evil, as the rulers may choose. The time is come when the rulers should seriously consider the question. As you now sow, so will you reap hereafter. It is high time that some decisive steps should be taken to turn the strong current of the gratitude and loyalty in the rising generations to the support of the British rule, and to give a greater vitality and force to the opinion now more or less prevailing, that the true patriotism of the native consists in his desire for a long English rule. Once this is achieved, once the leaders of the mass are with you, what shall there be to fear, or what will require the 80,000 or 100,000 bayonets? The loyal heart is a stronger weapon than any that the hand of the tyrant will ever forge. It is therefore necessary that some reasonable scope should be now given to their just and legitimate aspirations. Such timely concessions given with grace and without asking will carry with them a force of gratitude which cannot be attained by yielding to pressure and with a bad grace. All unnecessary obstacles should be removed. Something needs be done, by which those natives who have talents and attainments may be able to enter the various services, with only as much trouble as Englishmen are put to. The problem is clear, and there is no use shirking it. Either the educated natives should have proper fields for their talents, and education opened to them in the various departments of the administration of the country, or the rulers must make up their minds, and candidly avow it, to rule the country with a rod of iron. The question has been, however, to everybody's satisfaction, and to the great honour of the rulers, answered, by opening the competition for the civil, judicial, and other services to all her Majesty's subjects. The examinations being conducted, however, in this country is a virtual exclusion of the natives. By all means, these youths say, make your standards as

high as you think proper, but let us have fair play. Let the disregard of creed or colour be not a mockery and delusion, putting us to unnecessary and improper disadvantages. They ask that the examinations for a portion, however small at first, of the appointments for the services should be held in India. If it be considered that a native would be better for a visit to England before entering the services, they would be, I think, quite willing to submit to that necessity after their nomination. In the case of the Civil Service, the selected candidates can be required to complete their studies and undergo their "further examinations" in this country.

Whether a suitable military career should also be opened to the natives or not is a very important question, but I shall at present content myself with quoting the views of the *Hindoo Patriot*, which I think deserve consideration. In the same article, "Algeria and India," which I have quoted from before, the *Patriot* says:—"In India the higher ranks of the Civil Service are to some extent open to the natives—but as regards the military service, the natives can only enlist themselves as privates. The aristocracy of Northern and Western India are born warriors, and they thirst for a military career, but the rules of the military service are such that their wishes cannot be gratified, and consequently they are condemned to a life of inglorious idleness, and discontent if not disaffection prevails in many parts of the empire. The British Government professes to rule us with justice and liberality, but their professions have been only partially made good. It is said that the British Government fear to throw open the higher ranks of the military service to the native aristocracy, lest they should turn their strength against the ruling power. If there be such a fear it is an idle fear. No educated native will prefer any other rule to British rule. England has done to India an amount of good which no other conquering nation has been able to do, and so long as this fact is remembered, no feelings of disloyalty can exist in the mind of the Indian. England has held, and she is capable of holding, India at the point of the bayonet, but certainly no one will desire that she should continue in this attitude."

The question of the native army is a matter requiring careful consideration. I shall, however, remark that in my humble opinion, considering the exigencies of the vast interests of the British empire, and of the political relations in Europe and America, and the desire of some of the Powers to possess India, Britain can hardly do without

confiding in a native army, and depending to a great extent upon the loyalty and gratitude of the leaders of native opinion. The English have come to India as merchants, and not as conquerors. The native army has been chiefly instrumental in the creation of the British Indian empire, and I feel that, with proper treatment of India, the same native army will maintain the empire they have contributed to create.

For the gradual improvement of the people at large, and to prevent the utter starvation that now and then overtakes millions of human beings, the least that the British people can do is to lend back to India the wealth derived therefrom, in order to develop its resources. The English people are bound by duty as well as interest to do all they can for India. Every penny invested in the development of that vast and naturally rich portion of the British empire will be repaid a hundredfold in a hundred different ways. The greater the prosperity of India, the greater will be the benefits of the commercial and political relations of the two countries. If strenuous and great efforts are not made to develop the resources of the country and thereby ameliorate the material condition of the mass of the population, one of two results will naturally follow—either, under incessant depletion, the patient may die of sheer exhaustion, or may rebel. If there is a nation on earth—and there is one—on which India has a claim for charity in the time of distress, or of assistance with capital for the development of its material resources, by means of railways, roads, works of irrigation, &c. it is England. But the great misfortune of India is that the British public know very little of their duties towards India, and care less. Efforts are often made to keep them under the delusion that India is a source of weakness. Surely this is a very great joke. Thirty-three or more million pounds a year, and provision found for sixty thousand Englishmen as soldiers, and above ten thousand as civilians and officers, is a source of weakness indeed! How many European nations, or what other nation on earth, would not but be too glad to be subjected to such a source of weakness? During my pretty long residence in this country, I have observed that the English public as a body are very ignorant, and even to some extent misled, on Indian matters; but that whenever any subject is fairly and fully put before them their decision is certain to be on the side of fair play, justice, and honour. It is painful to observe the utter indifference of the British public towards Indian matters, and the delusion of the natives when they think that an article in an overland paper is an expression of the

public opinion of England. Fond are the hopes they cherish, and how grateful and satisfied do they feel, when they read a few words of kindness and of a just policy in these papers. But what is the actual state of affairs? The destinies of two hundred millions is not a subject of sufficient importance to attract and keep to their places a dozen members of Parliament, and the Secretary of State felt it necessary to make an apology last year to the few members who were present for entering into some details. Here is his apology. He said, "I am quite conscious of the reluctance with which the House listens to details so little affecting their own constituents; still, as it has imposed on the Indian Minister the task of making the statement, I think it my duty to make it tolerably complete." Of course, as the thirty-three millions or more a year are not directly handed over the counter to these constituents, these details do not affect them! One gentleman, high in office, asked me last year whether the educated natives of India took any interest in Indian politics! I hope the day is not distant when the Parliament, press, and people of this country will do their duty towards India, when they will fully understand and recognise the benefits derived by the British nation from their Indian connexion and the responsibility arising therefrom. I must confess, with feelings of great pleasure and satisfaction, that the commencement is already made. The formation of this very Association, the names on its lists, and the more frequent appearance than heretofore of Indian topics in the leading journals of this country, though, unfortunately, sometimes misleading, are hopeful signs. If this Association will make the British nation familiar with the single fact, that India has contributed not a little to its prosperity, and that they owe and incur serious responsibility as its present rulers, it will have conferred a lasting benefit on India and earned its deepest gratitude. I repeat here, that the rulers ought to study more sincerely and earnestly the condition of the mass of the population. The rulers, as well as the whole British people, must strain every nerve to save them from destruction which always stares them in the face. Vast public works of productive character ought to be undertaken with the assistance of loans from this country, and this country, under proper precautions for the safety of their investments, should regard India, both for the interests of Britain as well as those of India, as the best field for investment and enterprise. I need not trouble you with statistics here, but you ought to know, or at least those that care to know do so well enough,

how important India is as a commercial connexion, and how vastly the present commerce may be enlarged and developed to the benefit of both sides by a proper development of its material resources. We are thankful for the sixty millions you have already lent us, and the twenty millions more you are to lend for the railways already projected. Of this eighty millions, however, you have already derived the benefit of above twenty millions having been already spent in this country. We trust you will continue to give your utmost aid to India, and you will find that you will have both the pleasure of having performed a duty and the profits of a good investment.

There is another means which ought, I think, not to be neglected, of binding closer the ties of good feeling between the English and the Indians. Whenever there is any call of distress from India, Englishmen should respond to it generously and with sympathy. Each such instance will produce lasting good. I am sorry to see that the course adopted in England with reference to the Orissa famine has reasonably produced an unfavourable effect in India. The ground urged here for not doing anything was, and is, that the Indian Government ought to do all that was necessary. Now this simply means that England, the mismanagement of whose officers is the cause of the disaster, should stand with hands folded, and that the relief must be provided from the taxes paid by the natives of India, and that additional burdens should be laid upon them for the purpose. I do not at all mean to absolve the Indian Government from the blame of that defect in her administration by which they have not adopted means to prevent such disasters, by providing the necessary works of irrigation and by taking proper precautions to mitigate the horrors of a famine when expected to occur; but the worst of the matter is that the administrators are Englishmen selected by England, and the failure in the due performance of their duty is visited on the poor Indians, first by allowing famine to overtake them and then taxing them to relieve it, and to make up deficits of revenue; and all this is done as if for the purpose of making the Indian Government do their duty. Certainly, if by making the Indian Government do their duty it was meant that the bungling English officials in the administration were made to pay from their own pockets for the relief, the reason urged by Englishmen here would mean something. As it is it simply means, We won't help you, you must help yourselves. I am sure the people here have not thus intentionally withheld their help, but they

have acted under a misapprehension, which I also had at first thoughts shared ; and unfortunately a very unfavourable impression has been produced in India. Of all the benefits that you can confer upon the poor mass of India, help in their distress comes most home to them. Such benefits are remembered, for ever, and such sentiments of gratitude are worth hundreds of legions to the British rule. I sincerely hope that England will always be ready to hold out a helping hand to India in distress, and thereby create a community of feeling and good-will towards each other to their mutual benefit.

I have before alluded to the necessity of turning the current of the present loyalty of the educated natives to account, and retaining and strengthening it by giving them some share in the administration of their country. Besides such exclusion, what these natives feel most is their exclusion from any representative voice in the government of the country. They are taught how their fellow-subjects in England fare, and they feel and smart under the contrast of their position. This is a subject requiring much discussion and consideration, which I cannot embrace in this paper. I may in short say here that, though I do not think the lower classes of the population even understand and much less care for a representative government, and that there are not as yet the necessary elements and qualifications for the introduction in its integrity of the representative system for the whole country ; still I think some reasonable concessions should be made. I know with what feelings of lively satisfaction was welcomed the admission of natives to the legislative councils as the earnest of better things to come, and how Sir Charles Wood's name was spoken of with gratitude. Some arrangements might be made to have a few representatives from India to the Imperial Parliament, and for local legislation at least those members of the legislative councils who are supposed to represent the presidency towns might be elected by those towns instead of being selected by Government. These towns can now furnish very respectable constituencies. Such steps taken in time will go far to consolidate the British rule, and increase the loyalty of the people.

The subject of education is of great importance. I am glad to see that Government is fully alive to its value as the best means of elevating the nation and of securing to the British rule sincere gratitude and loyalty. The impulse, however, is given ; the higher classes of natives are gradually perceiving the value and necessity of education ; and before

long I hope to see good results. For the education of the mass of the people, however, there is much room for more strenuous and greater efforts.

The last thing, though I think it is not the least, I have to say about the policy towards the "people" of India is kind treatment of and ordinary courtesy towards them. The natives have had enough of abuse and reviling. It is time that this thoughtless course should cease, especially on the part of those who are men of influence, position, and authority. The natives are as much human beings as others. They feel as others feel. It is not possible that you should call them liars and rascals, and yet expect that they should love you any more than you would in similar circumstances. Some of the horrors of the mutiny had some cause in the kind of conduct for which a lady, the author of the "Gup," in the *Temple Bar Magazine* "felt the keenest sympathy." The *Bombay Samachar* characterises this "Gup" as real gup (falsehood). The natives, gentlemen, have their shortcomings, no doubt, but they deserve your pity and assistance, and not your abuse and your kicks. The servants and other people about Englishmen in India form their own opinions, and are influenced by such opinions in times of emergency. The meanest worm when trodden upon dashes its head against your foot. Of all dangers, those that arise from the outraging the feelings of a nation are the most to be dreaded, and the most disastrous in their results. Now-a-days a large number of Englishmen from the lower classes, as mechanics, &c. go to India, and sometimes present not a favourable picture of English morals and manners, and furnish the natives with materials for retaliation of any abuse directed against them. This circumstance also renders it highly necessary for Government not to fail in maintaining its high character for honesty and sincerity, and preserve that spell of higher morality and superior intelligence which has hitherto so deservedly commanded the admiration and confidence of the natives.

The princes of India, I think, are not quite in a satisfied state of mind. The various annexations, and till very lately the special pleadings about and the uncertain fate of Mysore, have produced a feeling of distrust in the honesty of the British, and it will require some efforts to restore confidence. The late decision of Lord Cranbourne not to annex Mysore, and his lordship's views expressed in the last year's budget speech on English policy in India, will go far to restore this confidence, and his lordship's name will be remembered by the natives with respect and admiration, notwithstanding his decision about Mysore being based on

policy instead of justice, and notwithstanding his few unfortunate remarks in the budget speech unnecessarily irritating and painful to the natives, which Lord W. Hay appropriately replied to. It is no use now my discussing the justice or otherwise of former annexations. That we can leave to the verdict of history; but it is very necessary to satisfy the present princes that, whatever doubt they may reasonably or unreasonably have of the past conduct of Britain, hereafter the policy of honesty towards them will be strictly carried out. Towards these princes there is another duty to perform. The British Government should take all possible care, by good advice, influence, and rewards, to encourage them to introduce improved systems of government into their territories, and more particularly to bring up their successors in a way to fit them for their onerous and responsible duties.

These are the various duties before the British nation. The task is as good as it is great. Let them, true to their nature and genius, apply themselves courageously and honestly to it, and conjointly with no little benefit to themselves, let them add to their name the glory of the benefactors of a great nation and of mankind.

The business of this Association will be to assist in the accomplishment of this great work. Those Englishmen who have retired from India owe as much filial duty to India as to England, to the mother who has provided for them as to the mother who gave them birth, and right well I hope will they perform that duty by assisting in the labours of this Association.

Before concluding, I wish to address a few words to my countrymen. Great as are the duties of England and the work before this Association, greater still are the duties and work to be performed on their part. They must show the same earnestness, perseverance, patriotism, and self-sacrifice, the same respect for law and order as the English do, if they deserve and desire to attain the same political condition as Englishmen, and a reasonable share and voice in the government of their country. They must show the same enterprise and forethought in the development of the resources of their country as Englishmen do, if they desire and deserve to be as prosperous as Englishmen. They should also readily support English gentlemen of rank and influence who have now come forward to advocate their cause through this Association, and in the exercise of their constitutional right in a constitutional way, persevere in their representations to the Imperial Parliament till their reasonable

demands are accorded. I have no reason to doubt that my countrymen will show themselves possessed of these qualifications. The existence and conduct of the British Indian Association, the warm interest which educated and thinking natives are now evincing in the welfare of their country, and the growing native enterprise, are sufficient to inspire hope and confidence. If they should, however, contrary to all expectations, show themselves to be blind to their own interests, they should at least not do hereafter the injustice to complain that Englishmen in this country do not at all care for them. No one will be to blame or sorry if they do not get what they do not struggle for and show themselves to deserve.

Lastly, if aught in this paper appear to be as appealing to the fears of the British rulers, I at once disclaim any such intention on my part. I have simply tried to give as faithful a representation as I could of the views and sentiments of the natives as far as I know, and am desirous that the important question of the practicability of the long continuance of the British rule with satisfaction to the natives of India, may be fully and dispassionately discussed in all its bearings. If I am shown to be wrong in any statements, nobody will be more happy than myself to correct it.

The Earl of KELLIE then proposed a vote of thanks to the noble chairman who had so kindly opened the meeting, and also to the gentleman who had read them so excellent an address.

General LE GRAND JACOB seconded the motion, which was carried by acclamation.

Lord LYVEDEN replied, and the meeting then separated.

APPENDIX A.

Year.	Charges in India.	Charges in England.*	
1829-30	£18,596,000	£1,715,000	
1830-31	12,947,000	1,446,000	
1831-32	12,985,000	1,476,000	
1832-33	12,895,000	1,327,000	
1833-34	12,345,000	1,293,000	
1834-35	12,706,000	2,162,000	
1835-36	12,000,000	2,109,000	
1836-37	11,806,000	2,210,000	
1837-38	11,987,000	2,304,000	
1838-39	13,080,000	2,615,000	
1839-40	14,103,000	3,578,000	
1840-41	14,261,000	2,025,000	
1841-42	14,719,000	2,834,000	
1842-43	15,307,000	2,458,000	
1843-44	15,638,000	2,944,000	
1844-45	15,551,000	2,485,000	
1845-46	16,249,000	3,044,000	
1846-47	16,557,000	3,065,000	
1847-48	16,472,000	3,016,000	
1848-49	16,687,000	3,012,000	
1849-50	17,170,000	2,750,000	
1850-51	17,117,000	2,717,000	
1851-52†	17,366,000	2,506,000	
1852-53	23,816,000	2,697,000	
1853-54	25,292,000	3,262,000	
1854-55	26,007,000	3,011,000	
1855-56	26,599,000	3,264,000	
1856-57	26,316,000	3,529,000	
1857-58	35,078,000	4,492,000	
1858-59	43,590,000	6,051,000	
1859-60	44,923,000	5,042,000	
1860-61	40,408,000	5,394,000	
1861-62	37,245,000	5,200,000	
1862-63	36,800,000	4,943,000	
1863-64	35,087,000	4,777,000	
1864-65	30,452,000	4,802,000	
1865-66	40,615,000	4,982,000	
Total	£818,276,000	£110,047,000	
Add		102,284,000*	
Add Interest at 5 per cent., about		218,331,000 270,000,000	
Total	£488,331,000		
			{ Rough estimate of the wealth derived by England during the last thirty-six years.

* From Parliamentary returns of Indian accounts.

† The charges in India from 1829 to 1851-52 are exclusive of charges for collecting stamp duties, land, mayer and abkaras revenues and customs, and cost and charges of salt, opium, &c.

APPENDIX B.

Years.	Charges of India.*	
1787-88	£5,275,000	
1788-89	5,500,000	
1789-90	5,800,000	
1790-91	7,678,000	
1791-92	8,845,000	
1792-93	8,817,000	
1793-94	8,689,000	
1794-95	8,503,000	
1795-96	7,012,000	
1796-97	7,641,000	
1797-98	8,264,000	
1798-99	8,786,000	
1799-1800	10,111,000	
1800-1	11,658,000	
1801-2	12,547,000	
1802-3	12,594,000	
1803-4	15,052,000	
I have (15,000,000	
not	15,000,000	
been	15,000,000	
able	15,000,000	
to get	15,000,000	
these	15,000,000	
returns.	15,000,000	
1804-5	15,000,000	Nearly.
1805-6	15,000,000	
1806-7	15,000,000	
1807-8	15,000,000	
1808-9	15,000,000	
1809-10	15,000,000	
1810-11	15,000,000	
1811-12	15,000,000	
1812-13	15,333,000	
1813-14	15,840,000	
1814-15	15,887,000	
1815-16	16,868,000	
1816-17	17,025,000	
1817-18	17,763,000	
1818-19	19,404,000	
1819-20	19,183,000	
1820-21	19,590,000	
1821-22	19,048,000	
1822-23	20,055,000	
1823-24	21,046,000	
1824-25	22,086,000	
1825-26	24,067,000	
1826-27	23,328,000	
1827-28	23,932,000	
1828-29	21,594,000	
Total . . .	£596,528,000	
	59,652,000	One-tenth, for purposes mentioned at * in Appendix A.
Add, say . . .	800,000,000	Interest till 1800.
Add, say . . .	300,000,000	For acquisitions by England before 1788, say £10,000,000
Add	488,331,000	in principal, which, with interest to 1800, will be above £300,000,000.
	1,647,089,000	Total, of Appendix A.
		Rough estimate of the amount of benefit derived by England from India as the result of English rule.

* From Parliamentary returns of Indian accounts.

APPENDIX C.

The following Tables, from 1814 to 1858, are taken from the Parliamentary Return of 1859, No. 38, Sess. 2. From 1859-65 from No. 15,409 of 1866:—

Years.	Imports into United Kingdom from India, Singapore, and China.	Exports from United Kingdom to India, Singapore, and China.	Exports from United Kingdom of Bullion to India and China.	
	Official Value.	Declared * and Official Value.		
1814	£6,298,386	£2,261,282		
1815	8,038,798	5,166,981		
1816	8,310,697	3,208,518		
1817	7,687,278	3,679,973		
1818	7,337,689	3,852,308		
1819	7,537,563	2,780,516		
1820	7,502,647	9,692,062		
1821	6,238,571	4,596,652		
1822	5,108,041	3,820,294		
1823	6,915,540	3,822,161		
1824	7,812,355	3,788,987		
1825	6,282,650	3,543,207		
1826	7,410,586	4,406,786		
1827	7,751,355	4,896,811		
1828	8,247,171	4,800,261		
1829	7,744,286	4,213,981		
1830	7,555,638	4,344,704		
1831	7,814,114	3,798,240		
1832	8,154,898	3,882,771		
1833	7,812,604	3,867,311		
1834	8,500,293	3,838,114		
1835	9,559,662	4,841,233		
1836	12,449,165	6,297,695		
1837	11,617,994	4,748,943		
1838	10,454,813	5,496,152		
1839	10,919,795	6,209,571		
1840	10,472,522	7,656,313		
1841	13,447,832	7,347,032		
1842	18,548,625	6,710,890		
1843	13,707,028	8,910,354	£319,252	
1844	16,348,284	11,005,868	88,841	
1845	16,038,403	9,831,388	47,346	
1846	16,271,702	9,095,707	16,496	
1847	18,314,579	7,824,383	7,844	
1848	17,011,194	7,993,731	8,186	
1849	18,584,973	9,400,171	16,006	
1850	20,007,028	10,429,621	240,126	
1851	22,941,166	10,703,121	1,666,265	
1852	21,360,626	10,445,270	3,227,784	
1853	25,088,098	10,524,103	5,107,949	
Carried forward				

* Exports of British goods are "declared values," and exports of foreign and colonial goods are "official values."

Years.	Imports into United Kingdom from India, Singapore, and China.	Exports from United Kingdom to India, Singapore, and China.	Exports from United Kingdom of Bullion to India and China.	
	Real Value.	Real and Declared Value.	Real Value.	below, Table (a) *, it will be seen that in these "official values," somehow or other, the imports are greatly undervalued, and the exports overvalued. So it is evident that could those "official values" be converted into real values the balance of imports over exports during the last fifty years will be far above £300,000,000, perhaps £400,000,000, say £350,000,000. These £350,000,000, with interest, will be above £1,000,000,000, while all before 1814, with interest, still remains to be added. My adoption of £500,000,000 may not be one-third of the actual benefit already derived by England.
1854	£22,098,653	£11,601,748	£3,272,920	
1855	23,505,311	12,624,657	5,650,557	
1856	25,795,172	14,613,020	10,984,141	
1857	22,542,940	16,167,816	18,290,800	
1858	24,450,374	21,910,344	5,088,850	
1859	27,021,805	27,523,610	16,003,267	
1860	27,759,150	25,506,407	8,134,286	
1861	35,203,641	23,558,008	7,279,839	
1862	51,150,767	20,284,141	10,710,209	
1863	68,150,997	27,572,883	8,817,656	
1864	73,213,187	27,857,709	7,555,442	
1865	64,710,071	27,000,000	8,808,260	
	923,968,844	491,420,718	116,338,019	
			7,842,881	
			108,495,638	
			7,594,624	
			£116,090,262	
		19,075,312		Deduct stores exported for Government purposes as far as they can be made up from returns of "Charges in England" from 1829 to 1865.
		472,845,406		{ Deduct railway stores exported, which are paid from the loan. Return No. 7,068 of 1866.
		17,622,172		
		454,723,294		† Balance of commercial exports.
		113,680,808		{ Add 25 per cent. for charges for transit to the place of destination and profits to the exporter. ‡
		116,090,262		Add bullion exported as per above table.
Deduct	684,494,904			{ Total commercial exports, including transit, charges, and profits, to India and China.
	£238,874,540, a			{ See preceding page.)

* Table (a) from Appendix (A) of Second Customs Report of 1858:—

Years.	Official Value.		Real Value.	
	Imports into the United Kingdom.	Exports from the United Kingdom.	Imports into the United Kingdom.	Exports from the United Kingdom.
1854	£124,196,018	£243,879,892	£152,880,653	£115,821,093
1855	117,984,881	225,414,653	143,542,850	116,691,900
1856	131,957,763	291,029,377	172,644,154	139,220,353
1857	136,215,849	280,104,631	187,846,935	146,419,872

† From this the following unascertainable items also require to be deducted to ascertain the exact commercial exports as between two independent countries:—

1st. Goods of British exports purchased from merchants in India, Singapore, and China, for Government consumption.

2d. Goods of British exports consumed by European employees of Government in these countries.

3d. Exports of stores by Home Government to China and Singapore.

4th. Railway stores of British manufacturers purchased in India.

† The imports into the United Kingdom include transit charges and profits. In making a fair comparison with exports it is necessary, in order to square the commercial accounts of two countries, that addition should be made to exports also for transit, charges and profits;—25 per cent., I think, will be a very fair average allowance for the purpose.

APPENDIX D.

The present yearly benefit to England from the annual Indian revenues may be roughly estimated in the following manner :—

Parliamentary Return.*	European Employers.		Salaries paid in India, about—	
	Description.	No.		
No. 116 of 1860 . . .	Covenanted Civil Servants, †	1,775	£2,250,000	Exclusive of furloughs in England.
No. 201—vi. of 1858 .	Uncovenanted Civil Servants, including Indo-Britons, are 3,082, of whom say Europeans are . . .	8,500	250,000	Taking an average of £500 a-year.
No. 201—ix. of 1858 .	Indian Navy . . .	305	70,000	
No. 251—i. part ii, Grant, No. 3 of 1866.	Officers	8,231	5,000,000	Exclusive of furlough.
	Army	67,131	1,150,000	
	Total	£8,720,000	

Half of the salaries may represent transfers to England for support of families, relations, &c., for education of children, for savings, and for purchases in India and England of British goods for consumption in India	£4,860,000
Add Home charges, about	5,000,000
Total	£9,860,000

If to this total be added purchases in India of Government stores of British manufactures, the amount of annual transfer to England may be fairly taken above £10,000,000; but, to make allowances that may be necessary, such as for interest paid in England for public debt, and to avoid any over-estimate, I have put down only £8,000,000 in the paper.

* I cannot obtain any later returns.

† This includes Governors, Judges, Bishops, and Chaplains.

27011

EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION.

On the 2d of May a deputation from this Association, introduced by Major Jervis, M.P., and Lord William Hay, M.P., and composed of General North, the Earl of Kellie, C.B., Lord Erskine, Colonel Haly, Captain Phelps, Mr. Low, and Captain Barber, waited upon Sir Stafford Northcote, at the India Office, to explain the effect of the general order published by the Calcutta Government upon Lord Cranborne's bonus compensation despatch of the 8th of August, 1866. General North, having explained the process by which a regiment obtained promotion by purchase, stated that officers were not induced to contribute because they expected to derive any immediate benefit, but in the full belief that when their turn came to retire they would themselves be bought out; and although the amalgamation of the services had completely destroyed this system, the service had been led to expect that the remedy devised by Lord Cranborne would to some extent compensate for the losses which had been sustained. Sir Stafford Northcote replied that the question was one which he did not fully understand, and that as it related to finance, it would have to be decided by the Indian Council; whereupon Lord William Hay observed that it would perhaps be better that some practical illustration of the working of the general order should be given, and he called upon Mr. Low, as having prepared several applications for officers who had retired, or were about to retire, to state the course which he adopted. This proposal having received the approval of Sir Stafford Northcote, who intimated that he was anxious before going into council really to know in what manner the general order differed from Lord Cranborne's despatch and the speech of his lordship in the House of Commons, Mr. Low stated that although the remedy suggested did not meet the justice of the case, yet the service was prepared to accept it if carried out in the same liberal manner as it was understood Lord Cranborne intended; but the limitation of the refund to the sums paid in the rank held on the 17th February, 1861, had caused very great disappointment to the service, as it had practically destroyed the value of the concessions made by Government; in fact the loss would fall heaviest upon the majors who in the aggregate had paid most, although in the rank held in 1861, their payments would be *nil*, as it was well known that majors ceased to contribute to retirements as the promotion of lieutenant-colonels was not regimentally but in the

gradation list. As an instance, Mr. Low mentioned that an officer of twenty-eight years' standing, and a lieutenant-colonel by brevet, was, in 1861, a captain in the cadre of his regiment, and still remained so; that he contemplated retiring from the service, and with that view he had submitted to the committee nominated by the Indian Government a claim for 8,000 rupees, which he had at various times paid to the seniors of his regiment, but the sum which he had contributed as captain did not amount to 800 rupees, so that in the event of the general order being acted upon, this officer would not only lose 20,000 rupees which he would have received from his juniors, but only one-tenth part of the money he had expended would be returned to him. No doubt the Calcutta Government found some difficulty in dealing with the 16th paragraph of the despatch, by which they are directed to estimate the value in money of the advance in rank or position which accrued to the officer from the promotion he had purchased; but it was certainly not fair, or in accordance with the spirit of the despatch, to determine, that promotion to any rank had compensated for the investment made, for many officers, even although they had contributed largely to the bonus funds, did not thereby secure promotion until many years after the average periods for which promotion is now granted in the Staff Corps; and in the case alluded to, the officer was a cadet of 1839, and only became a major by the formation of the Staff Corps. Now, this officer would retire if he received 800*l.* which he had expended; if, however, his claim was disallowed, he would be compelled to return to India for three years, during which he would receive 1,000 rupees per month, and at the expiration of that time he would retire upon the full pay of a lieutenant-colonel, so that Government would eventually pay him much more than the sum to which he considered himself entitled. In another case, that of a cavalry officer who had paid 25,000 rupees, the claim would not be worth preferring, as he had only just obtained promotion in 1861; in fact, out of some fifty applications sent out, representing an aggregate payment of 20,000*l.* it was very doubtful whether 2,000*l.* would be recovered; and it was therefore not surprising that officers who, although not satisfied, were willing to agree to a compromise, should now feel great disappointment that the terms thereof were construed so unfavourably. Sir Stafford Northcote then expressed his thanks for the information which had been afforded him, as it would enable him to consider the question in council, and he hoped Major Jervis would afford him an opportunity to explain in the House the decision at which Government might arrive. The deputation then withdrew.

EAST INDIA (ARMY).

COPY of the INSTRUCTIONS sent by the Secretary of State for India to the Governor General of India relative to the proposed settlement of the BONUS QUESTION for the INDIAN ARMY.

Military Department,
India Office, 3 May, 1867.

T. T. PEARS, Major-General,
Military Secretary.

(Military, No. 124.)

To His Excellency the Right Honourable the Governor General of India in Council.

India Office, London,
2 May, 1867.

SIR,

Para. 1. I HAVE received and considered in Council your Military Letter, No. 48, dated 8th March, 1867, forwarding papers connected with the operation of the proposed compensation for the loss of money contributed by officers of the Indian Army, prior to the reorganization, towards regimental retiring funds, or for purchasing out their seniors, with copy of General Orders on the subject.

2. The general principles which, on the recommendation of the Committee of Officers in Bengal, you have laid down for the guidance of the Committees at the three Presidencies, are calculated to simplify and facilitate the investigation of officers' claims. I do not consider, however, that the adoption of the general rule proposed by your Government will carry out so fully the intentions of Her Majesty's Government in this respect as the more particular investigation of each case, contemplated by the instructions conveyed in the 13th paragraph of Lord Cranborne's Despatch, No. 160, of 8th August, 1866, and in the first paragraph of that of the 15th December last, No. 284.

3. To the rule laid down in para. 6, so far as it concedes compensation in full to officers for sums paid in the regimental rank which they held at the date of the reorganization of the army, I have no objection, but it appears to me that the denial, save in very exceptional cases, of all compensation for sums paid in previous grades is inconsistent with the instructions contained in those Despatches.

4. The actual investigation of each officer's claim will, no doubt, as you observe, be attended with difficulty, but the difficulty is not insuperable; and it is most desirable that the intention of Her Majesty's Government, expressed in the above Despatches, should be borne in mind, viz. that each officer concerned should, as far as possible, be secured from absolute loss upon the money he has actually paid throughout his entire service with a view to the purchase of promotion, and it seems to me that this object cannot be sufficiently attained in any other manner than that described in the Despatch of the 8th August last, viz. considering each case upon its own merits.

5. I should wish, therefore, that you should take such steps as may appear to you to be necessary to give full effect to the intentions expressed in Lord Cranborne's Despatches of the 8th August and the 15th December.

I have, &c.

(signed) STAFFORD H. NORTHCOTE.

JUNE 11, 1867.

MAJOR-GENERAL C. F. NORTH, R.E. IN THE CHAIR.

A PAPER was read by GENERAL SIR ARTHUR COTTON, K.C.S.I., entitled

IRRIGATION AND WATER TRANSIT IN INDIA.

The CHAIRMAN, in commencing the proceedings, after some observations as to the inconveniency of the hour, and the difficulty of fixing any hour which would be convenient to everybody in the London season, said he had been requested to tell them that since their last meeting eighteen life members, and sixty-nine ordinary members had joined the association. The association was therefore in a flourishing state, and he believed that few associations had ever been formed which had been able to inscribe nearly 300 members on its list in so short a time. During the season papers on matters concerning the welfare of India would be read to them by persons who had made the subject their peculiar study, and who were well qualified by residence in India to diffuse information and to interest the public therein. The paper to be read to-night would be by Sir Arthur Cotton, a distinguished officer of the Royal Engineers, who had made the subject of irrigation in India his peculiar study. Those who had been in that country were well aware that the rainy season lasted only a short period of the year, that it then poured in torrents, and that for eight or nine months there was no rain at all, and that there were dry crops and wet crops, the dry crops being raised unartificially, and the wet crops being raised from land irrigated by water from the rivers which had been dammed artificially, or by water which had been stored in tanks, and

was brought on the land by means of canals constructed for the purpose. At their last meeting he thought it was hardly understood that they invited discussion. They did not care what the differences of opinion might be ; they were quite willing to hear them. The more opinions there were the better for the interests of truth. They therefore invited discussion, but they recommended that no one should occupy their time more than ten minutes or a quarter of an hour.

SIR ARTHUR COTTON then read as follows :—

THIS subject has now been so awfully forced upon our attention, that it seems to require no elaborate argument to justify my occupying your attention with what I now have the honour to offer to you. It is a great help to me to think that I bring it before an Association which contains so many that take a real, hearty, and personal interest in the people of India; and I confidently hope that you will patiently bear with me in what I have to say on a subject which has now become a very painful one, and on which it is very difficult to speak with calmness.

The terrible fact that a loss of life which the Famine Commission estimates between three-quarters and a million and a half in Orissa alone, besides all that have perished in Bengal, Behar, and Madras, has occurred before our eyes and (to our shame) before the eyes of the millions of India, both our own fellow-subjects and those of the native powers, and before the world ; this fact cannot be wiped off, but it may be thoughtfully weighed, and if we are not altogether beyond the reach of instruction we may learn something from it.

The mere circumstance that it cannot be quite determined—that is, within a few hundred thousand more or less—how many have died, puts in a strange light the real nature of the case. It seems certain that including all, not less than one million and a half have been cut off by this dreadful death—men, women, and children.

But there is another fact that it is equally necessary that we should look full in the face : it is this, that we might certainly have prevented the great mass of this calamity. The remedy was perfectly well known ; it has already been applied in more than one case with perfect success ; we had superabundant means at our disposal, and we had been warned about it over and over again: there are volumes on record on the subject.

It has been continually forced upon the authorities by those in the service and out of it, but not one single step has been taken towards a general and effective dealing with the case. The district of Tanjore has been preserved from famine by irrigation for sixty years, and the district of Godavery for twenty years, and there is no reason to fear that they will ever suffer from it as long as the existing works, incomplete as they are, are kept up. With these proofs before our eyes, both of the effects of irrigation and the effects of neglecting it, while eighty millions have been spent upon a general system of railways, not the least sign has yet appeared of a general and effective system of irrigation and navigation, which is of incomparably greater consequence.

And even when the particular cases of famine were certain and imminent, in no one single case yet has the smallest effort been made to provide against it. Millions upon millions have perished before this last case, and yet nothing could induce the authorities to raise one finger to meet the present calamity. It is quite unfair to select some one subordinate authority and lay the blame on him. The subordinates only followed the example of their superiors. Neither the representatives of the nation, the heads of the India Office, the Governor-General, the Councils, here and at Calcutta, the head of the Public Works department, nor the local Governors, made the smallest effort to meet the calamity. If we lay the blame on some individual, we falsify the case, and keep out of sight the essential point that there has been complete and general failure in this matter to this day ; and what is now wanted is some movement that will rouse every individual connected with India in any way, whether directly or indirectly, (as being connected with the government of the empire,) to set about a reformation in this matter, and to change from this system of inconceivable neglect and indifference to the welfare of the people over whom we have assumed authority.

The remedy for this evil, water for irrigation and for cheap transit, is as certain as anything in human affairs can be, and it is equally certain that the remedy is within our reach : that is, that the direct returns in money from water so applied are such as to place at our disposal any amount of funds that may be required. The profit even from works already constructed would pay the interest of more than ten millions, besides that of their own cost.

There remains one point to be touched upon before I enter upon my subject—a point which certainly ought to be earnestly inquired into

before we hear any man's opinion on important matters. That is the question, What grounds has the lecturer for offering to urge his views upon our attention? My claim is this, that it is forty-five years since I first was employed on irrigation in India, and excepting one interval of two years, my time and attention has been almost entirely given to that subject ever since; and during that time I have had the very best opportunities of obtaining practical experience in such works, having had a hand in irrigating several millions of acres, in cutting many hundred miles of canal, and in managing works for the storing of many hundred millions of cubic yards of water.

And I certainly ought to add that, with many partial failures it has pleased God to favour us with substantial success in Madras—indeed with proofs that the water of India can be applied so cheaply, compared with its value in products, as to be a far greater treasure than the gold of Port Philip. I can therefore confidently offer you my views as the results of long-continued, extensive, and successful experience. And I must beg to assure you that I will not attempt to offer you any opinions, excepting such as I have fully satisfied myself about them, without warning you of their being only partially established in my own mind.

I must begin by giving you a few propositions, fundamental ones, about water in India, which it is essential to keep in view throughout our consideration of the subject.

1. There is no want of water in India.
2. Famines are seldom caused by a failure of rain, though they are sometimes, but generally either by floods, or too long intervals between the bursts of rain.
3. There are two principal methods of regulating the water in India, viz. storing it in tanks, and leading it from the great rivers.
4. In both ways the water can be obtained at a cost prodigiously below its value.
5. Water may be applied to every kind of crop. Not an acre of any kind is ever grown in which there is not naturally a want of water at one time and an excess at another.
6. Where there is a powerful sun, only one thing is wanted to produce fertility, viz. water, even with wretchedly poor soils.
7. There is nothing to prevent the whole of the land being cropped all the year round in India, but the absence of water.

8. There are in India no natural lakes, properly speaking, though there are in some parts extensive lagoons or jheels in the monsoon.

9. There are the finest sites for tanks of vast capacity, almost throughout India; that is, sites where water can be stored on a large scale at very small expense.

10. There are extraordinary natural facilities for water communication in India, from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin, and from Sind to Assam.

11. River water alone entirely restores land, so that millions of acres have been cropped with rice year after year for long periods, without manure.

12. There are extraordinary natural facilities for irrigation, from the nature of the surface of the great mass of the country.

These are some of the leading points on this subject. Most of them will, I trust, be established in the course of this paper. Many of them are of course directly contrary to common notions on the subject, for it is always found that we have hastily received notions on many subjects, which upon examination prove to be quite wrong. I will only give here one or two specimens of the comparison of the common ideas about these things, with the real state of the case as found upon the least examination.

The persons to blame say, and the public believe it, such a famine occurred from want of rain. Inquiry shows perhaps, as in Orissa in 1865, that there was sixty inches—twice a full supply in England.

The traveller says, What a complete success the railways are: I found all the stations choked with goods. Inquiry shows that this was a proof of failure, not of success;—that the railways could not carry the comparatively insignificant quantity of goods that were brought to it. The merchants are holding indignation meetings because the railways have totally failed to meet the demands of the country; that they cannot carry one-twentieth part of what is required.

Multitudes of such ideas as these are commonly held, which vanish upon the least inquiry.

I will add a few remarks on each of the points I have mentioned.

1. The quantity of water in India. The Godaverry, for instance, discharges in a day 5,000 millions of cubic yards of water, sufficient for a crop of rice on 800,000 acres, providing food for $2\frac{1}{2}$ millions of people for a year; or eight days of a full river would secure food for the whole population of the basin of the river. And in Orissa, in the year of

famine, sufficient water passed through it to have secured food for more than twenty times its population. The one thing wanted is to regulate the water, to store it, distribute it, and conduct it away. Large tanks will both prevent destructive floods and provide for the times of drought; and by means of weirs with canals, leading from them, the water can be conducted from the rivers upon the land, and by local embankments and spacious drainage canals, the floods can be further provided against in each locality. And when I speak of the land being irrigated, I mean to include all drainage and other works for the complete regulation of the water, and for navigation also.

2. Fertilizing effects of water. The water does not merely moisten the land, it contains all the food of plants; and it will not only fertilize the land to which it is applied, but the rest also; for almost the whole manure of the country is consumed for fuel, simply because, with unbounded supplies of fuel in both wood and coals, by far the greater part of the inhabited tracts are without fuel, solely on account of the prohibitive cost of carriage. Consider the intolerable loss to the country from the destruction of the manure, instead of its being applied to the restoration of the land. What must be the value of water for transit, in this one item!

3. Cultivation throughout the year. Nothing is more striking in India than to travel in a burning land wind in April or May for scores of miles without seeing a green blade, and then coming suddenly upon a tract under one of the large tanks or channels that contain water all the year, and to find yourself in a moment in the midst of the richest possible vegetation of fruits and grains of every kind, the latter in every stage from sowing to harvest. I once took a member of the House of Commons, who had come out to acquaint himself with India, and showed him the effects of water. We stood on the bank of a channel near Trichinopoly, where all the country above was one desert, without a green blade or a habitation, while all below was the richest scene of fertility that could be imagined, swarming with a dense population of five or six hundred to the square mile. Water alone made the difference. *

4. Sites for tanks. We have immense valleys with moderate slopes and narrow outlets, where a short and comparatively low embankment will retain an immense body of water. The Sheffield reservoir, that burst, had a bank ninety feet high, and it formed a tank under two miles long and very narrow, and containing four million cubic yards. Many sites

in India with a bank of the same length and height, would form a tank of twenty or thirty miles long and several miles broad, containing one hundred times as much water.

5. Water transit. There is no point in engineering about which the common notions in England are more contrary to truth than on this. Because in many cases the property in a little narrow winding canal, fitted up for small boats and animal power, costing 3000*l.* or 4000*l.* a mile, has been injured by a railway, costing 30,000*l.* or 40,000*l.* a mile, (in the great majority of cases to the loss of the speculators,) people have generally come to the following extraordinarily false conclusions.

1. Land-carriage beats water-carriage.
2. Almost all the goods in England are now carried by land.
3. You can only travel at two or three miles an hour by canal.
4. Goods are generally carried by rail at twenty or thirty miles an hour.
5. A railway can carry any quantity of goods and passengers.
6. The cost of carriage, whether of goods or passengers, is of little consequence compared with speed.
7. All the canals have been rendered unprofitable by railways: &c. &c.

These ideas, held by almost everybody, all utterly false, meet you at every turn, when you begin to deal with the question of water transit in India.

It would not be possible to enter into this subject here, but I will mention a few facts for your consideration.

1. One of the ruined canals, the Oxford, is still yielding 9 per cent., while the railway running by its side is paying sometimes 2 per cent. sometimes nothing.
2. The receipts from the Bridgewater canal, forty miles in length I believe, last year were 270,000*l.*
3. The quantity carried on five of the navigations in England, and probably on others, is from one to one and a half million tons each per annum, on short lines of thirty or forty miles.
4. The average quantity carried along the railways is about 150,000 or 200,000 tons a year. A railway is often stated to carry some millions of tons, but this only means that that was the aggregate number carried over all the different parts of a system of railways of perhaps 1000 miles. It has nothing to do with the quantity carried over any one part, or the average carried over the whole length.
5. I have two or three times had a quantity of furniture carried by

rail one hundred miles or so, and every time the speed it averaged was one or two miles an hour.

6. Some seeds were sent to me in Ireland from Reading, and as it was important that they should reach me as quickly as possible, the seedsman who of course had had plenty of experience in this way, sent them to London to go by steamer, three times the distance they would have gone by rail and steamer combined, because this was the quickest way.

7. In France they are now reforming, extending, and improving the whole system of water communication over every part of the country, simply from finding that the railways, after many years' trial, have totally failed to meet the requirements of the country.

8. In the United States they are doing the same ; planning immense works throughout the Union, "to do away with the enormous cost of all rail transportation."

9. There never has been a trial between land and water carriage. Steam power on land has, indeed, been tried against animal power on water, and the issue, even then, in point of cost has been immensely in favour of water.

10. The great mass of the goods traffic of England is still carried by water, by the coasts, rivers, and canals.

11. There is no steam-boat canal yet in operation in the world. If a steam-boat canal were cut from London to Liverpool, worked at only twenty miles an hour for the highest speed, and conveying, as it could afford, at from one-fourth to one-tenth of the cost by railway, both for goods and passengers, the railway could not support its stations. A steam-boat canal from the Severn to Southampton and London, to bring the South Welsh coals in boats of 500 tons at a cost of one-tenth of a penny, or less, per ton per mile, would save London alone more than a million a year in the carriage of that one item. If there were steam-boat canals to London from all directions, the city would be saved several millions a year in carriage.

12. The Clyde is now worked at eighteen or twenty miles an hour, and the Hudson in New York at the same and more, and there is nothing to prevent a much higher speed on a canal.

13. The actual cost of carriage by steam on canals in England, with very small boats, and all sorts of obstacles from the canals not being fitted for steam-power, and with short distances, is only one-tenth of a penny per ton per mile, including everything. On a steam-boat canal it

would not be above one-twentieth of a penny, with large boats and longer distances.

14. The number of *boats* entering the canal at Calcutta last year was 250,000, and as many left it ; and this is besides all the boats loaded in the river.

15. The 3,500 miles of water carriage from England to the Crimea did not cause the smallest difficulty ; but the seven miles of land carriage from Balaklava to Sevastopol, very nearly ruined the expedition.

I leave these facts to be considered in connexion with the above common notions on this subject of water transit. My propositions are these :—

1. No country can possibly attain to anything like the prosperity it is capable of without water carriage. It must continue comparatively poor without it.

2. Not five per cent of the traffic that a country requires, for the full development of its resources, can bear the cost of land carriage even for short distances, much less for 1,000 miles.

3. No single railway, nor even a double one, can carry one-twentieth part of the traffic of a main line in an extensive country, containing many millions of inhabitants.

4. A steam-boat canal can carry many millions of tons and passengers a year, at any required speed, at a cost of from one-tenth to one-twentieth of a penny per ton and per head.

5. The cost of such a canal would not be one-third of that of a railway in England, nor one-sixth of a single railway in India.

6. No country without water carriage can contend with one that has it. —

7. A steam-boat canal has prodigious advantages over a railway in many essential points, particularly in everything being carried at its own proper speed, &c. without interfering with any other ; in the loading and landing at any point, instead of only at stations several miles apart, &c.

The questions of irrigation and navigation in India are so intimately connected, that it is necessary to try and settle fundamental principles in both, before we can possibly form sound judgments respecting our future proceedings in this matter.

Wherever irrigation on a large scale is carried on, we shall have noble steam-boat canals for navigation. To water a million acres of rice we require a canal 170 yards broad and 3 yards deep, flowing at $1\frac{3}{4}$ miles an hour ; so that even if it were diverted into six branches, they would each

form a first-class navigation. And if the fall of the country is such as to require occasional weirs to provide for a portion of it, it is only necessary to make a lock at each weir, to pass the boats round it, which is all the additional expense that the navigation causes. And over a vast extent of India the fall is so moderate that there need be no locks at all. Thus, from Hurdwar to Calcutta, 1,000 miles, there is only 1,000 feet of fall, which would not give too much current, so that there need be no lock the whole way. What highway in the world could compare with this, whether for goods or passengers? And it could be completed for an average cost of 3,000*l.* a mile, one-sixth of the cost of a single railway. Thus, in providing against famines we at the same time cover all India with a complete system of internal transit, at such a rate of freight as will give it an advantage over every other country.

To put this question of water transit for India in a clear light, I may compare this line of canal, from Delhi to Calcutta, with a railway.

1. The cost of the canal, 30 yards wide, and 2 or 3 deep, would certainly not exceed 3,000*l.* a mile, against 24,000*l.* a mile for the railway, most of it single, including accumulated interest.
2. The canal would have no locks.
3. It would be navigated by vessels of 300 or 400 tons.
4. It would convey at about one-fourth to one-tenth the charge by the railway, both for goods and passengers.
5. On this canal everything would be carried at its own most suitable speed, according to the value of the goods and the class of passengers, without any interference with the other traffic.
6. The highest speed would be just the same as on the railway.
7. Vessels could start from any point of the line, at any time, day or night.
8. Vessels could touch at any point on the whole line, instead of only at stations ten or fifteen miles apart.
9. It could carry millions of tons instead of only 100,000 or 200,000.
10. It could carry passengers at such a cost that, instead of its accommodating only a small part of the present travellers, as the railway does, it would convey probably twenty times as many as now go by the railway, and all who need to travel.
11. The travelling would be incomparably more convenient; as passengers could sit, stand or lie down, walk about, sleep, read or write, have their meals, &c.

12. Any person could have his private boat in it, without being at the mercy of one company.

Thus, there is not a single point in which it would not have essential advantages over a railway, excepting speed, and in that it would be equal, for boats can be run at any speed. In cost of transit and quantity carried it would make the whole difference, inasmuch as it would, in both respects, fully meet the requirements of the country, while the railway totally fails ; it cannot convey one-twentieth part of the goods or passengers that require to be carried, nor at less than five or ten times the cost that is necessary for the development of the country. The great mass of the goods and passengers now go by the old means or remain unmoved, just as if no railway existed. And the capital sunk would be only three millions instead of twenty-five ; and this, combined with the enormous amount of goods and passengers carried, would require only an almost imperceptible toll to cover interest and management, and even return high profits if such were desirable. Five million tons of goods, and two millions of passengers per annum, need only pay a toll of one-fiftieth of a penny per ton and per head to return twenty per cent. on 3000*l.* But further, if irrigation were combined with the navigation, it would pay the whole interest over and over again, so that the navigation would require no toll at all.

So prodigious is the difference between forcing upon a country a kind of work totally unsuited to its circumstances, and one that accords with them. Had the Indians conquered England, they would certainly, upon our principles, have made us pay 100 millions for hothouses to grow sugar and rice, and taxed our salt and other necessities of life to pay for them.

And all that I have said above is beside the item that the canal would prevent famine and save millions of lives (which the railway cannot do), both directly by providing food on the spot, and indirectly by bringing it at a practicable cost of carriage, and in sufficient quantities from places 1,000 to 2,000 miles distant if necessary.

Water transit is still an indispensable necessity in India, just the same as if not a mile of railway existed. Think of a communication being constructed for India which charges 9*l.* a ton for carrying cotton 500 miles, and is choked by twenty or thirty thousand tons of it, so that it lies rotting at the stations, when a communication is required that will carry several million tons at prices that will not be felt in things of $\frac{1}{20}$ th the

value of cotton, such as grain, or of $\frac{1}{10}$ th of its value, such as firewood. Think of the country being taxed on its salt in order to pay for communications thus spoken of by a member of the Bombay Chamber of Commerce : " Already the native cotton dealers, in despair of the railway company doing their work, are organizing a system of carts to carry the cotton, as it was carried probably two thousand years ago, and next year they hope to be independent of the Company altogether. Is not this disgraceful ? Do you not all feel humiliated ? I declare that I feel ashamed that Western enlightenment and progress should thus be degraded in the eyes of our native fellow-subjects." Think of all this about the carriage of twenty or thirty thousand tons of cotton, which a canal would have carried in a single day. The Erie canal carries 500,000 tons a month.

I have mentioned the extraordinary facilities for water communication in India. The following main lines are all practicable and without one serious obstacle :—

1. A line from Bombay, north along the coast, and then from Sinde to Loodeeanah, across the watershed of the Jumna and Sutlej, down the south side of the valley of the Ganges to Calcutta, and by or near the coast all round the Peninsula to the new port of Carwar on the western coast, three hundred miles south of Bombay. The only point of the whole circuit that is impracticable is that between Carwar and Bombay, which, as merely connecting two good ports, is of no consequence.

2. Lines across the Peninsula from Madras to Ponany on the west coast, from Madras through Bellary to Carwar, and from Coringa to Surat by the valleys of the Godaverry and Taptee ; these three, with the two connexions contained in the first circuit, give five lines connecting the east and the west coasts. So also a second line may be carried along the north side of the valley of the Ganges, to connect at both ends with the line first mentioned ; and another main line may be carried from Calcutta to the eastward up the valley of the Burhampoota to the extreme east at Sadiya. These lines, with two or three main branches, and improving some of the rivers, would be about 12,000 miles, and could certainly be completed for 3,000*l.* a mile at the utmost, or for 36 millions in all, and they would connect all India together, and with all the ports. Many hundred miles of river can be improved at a small expense, on an average of about 1,000*l.* a mile, a twentieth part of the cost of a railway.

The Government are now carrying on the improvement of the Godavery, though in the usual desultory way, so that it has been hanging on for years. The estimate is about 1,200*l.* a mile for the first and most expensive 500 miles. A portion of this will be opened next year, about 200 miles from the sea, but much more is now available, though with breaks in it.

Nothing is more remarkable than this wonderful adaptation of our whole Indian empire for such a perfect system of water transit; and I may mention here that there is only 250 miles between this system and the vast system of internal navigation in China, so that a line of communication of some kind between the Burhampoota and Yungtsee would throw open all India to all China, and make Calcutta the port of a considerable part of the produce of China. It is evident that these lines would open the port of Bombay both to Sinde and the Punjaub, and also to the valley of the Taptee, &c. and would not leave it, as now, dependent upon railways, which fail them about bringing twenty to thirty thousand tons of cotton from the interior.

As data for the cost of these canals, we have specimens in works already constructed, from the Ellore canal, 90 miles long and 25 yards broad, costing 700*l.* a mile, to the Irrigation Company's Toombudra Canal, 70 miles long before it divides, and 60 yards broad, costing about 7,000*l.* a mile, through an undulating and rocky country. The Ganges works have cost over two millions, and they have 700 miles of main canal, which would be only 3,000*l.* a mile if the whole were charged to these canals; but the above sum includes all the distribution, &c.; and this leaves less than 1,000*l.* a mile for the main canals, excepting that part which is within the hills. An average of 3,000*l.* would include all the great mass of the populous country of India.

As one of the unaccountable fancies that seize men that have not looked into this matter is, that there would be a difficulty in supplying canals with water, I will only mention here that, if a canal cost 3,000*l.* a mile, the portion of the expense that would be required for supplying the water would be about 100*l.*

With respect to the expense of irrigation generally; in the Godavery district, it has cost twelve shillings an acre, including navigation, drainage, &c.; but, owing to the recent great change in the value of money, it would now cost about 1*l.* The whole plain of the Ganges, containing half of our population, would be cheaper to irrigate than this, from the

extremely favourable nature of the country and the small size of the rivers to be controlled ; and I am sure that an average of 1*l.* 10*s.* per acre, if laid out with tolerable engineering skill, would include all the great population of India. The Ganges works are now estimated to cost 3*½* millions for 1*½* millions of acres, or rather more than 2*l.* an acre ; but this is more than four times what they would have cost but for mistakes in the projection, which our present experience has shown. It may be well here to inform you of the present state of the Ganges Canal question. Many of you are aware that these works are in a very unsatisfactory state, having been twenty years in hand, and costing two millions, with a debt for interest of one million, and that they have not yet returned five per cent. interest, and were in such a state as to require to be "re-modelled." In consequence of my statements, a commission was ordered nominally "to consider Sir Arthur Cotton's plans ;" but as not a single member represented my views, nor was a single witness allowed to be examined on my side, you may suppose what was the result. I replied to the Commissioners' Report, but I gather from a letter from the Secretary of State that my reply is not to be considered, and the whole question is to be settled on an *ex parte* inquiry ; and this is called in the heading of the Commissioners' Report, a commission to examine my views. I wonder what would be thought of a committee of the House of Commons who undertook to examine into a certain engineer's views of a project, who decided without hearing one word that that engineer, or any one acquainted with his views, had to say on the subject.

Thus, if half a million acres were irrigated in each district, or 65 millions in all, it would cost about 100 millions ; and this would include most of the 36 millions above allowed for navigation, and also about 6 millions already expended on irrigation works ; so that about 100 millions would be required to complete this system of works, and the water-rate on one crop of rice at 10*s.* would be about 30 millions sterling for the additional works, or 30 per cent. gross on the outlay : this would be, beside second crops, and making the country a present of the navigation, a complete system of thoroughly effective internal communication, which would fully meet all the requirements of the country as to main lines, both in respect of quantity of goods, numbers of passengers, cost of freight, convenience, safety, speed, &c. And as the charge for interest and repairs at 7 per cent. would be only 7 millions, it would leave 23 millions for the abolition of taxes. This is fully supported by the results in the

three districts already irrigated, which are now yielding $1\frac{1}{2}$ millions, so that if the remaining 127 districts were improved to the same extent, the revenue would be 65 millions, besides opium—25 millions more than at present.

The expenditure for this in each district would be, on an average, 750,000*l.*, which could be easily spent in ten years. A small part of this is already in hand. The works now under construction or in operation will have cost about 10 millions, and they will include about 4,000 miles of first-class canal, and 4,000 more of navigable branches. The whole of the above system of irrigation would include about 30,000 miles of first-class steam-boat canals, and as many of navigable branches, so that there would be a mile of navigation for about every ten square miles of country—that is, the whole of the populous country would be effectively pervaded by a system of cheap transit, such as no country in the world has.

The next point seems to be, what should be now done in respect of such works. The first question of course is, as matters now are, How can the next money be expended so as to give the greatest results ?

This at once brings us to the point of the connexion of the present navigations. In consequence of the wretched patchwork way in which these works have hitherto been carried on, extensive systems of navigation are left unconnected for want of short lengths of canal. Thus the North and South Coast Canals at Madras are in a great measure paralyzed for want of a connecting link of three miles. The Northern Canal and the Kistna Canals are separated by a line of 100 miles. The Southern Coast Canal is broken by two intervals, one of 60 and one of 20 miles. The Indus and Ganges navigations are separated by a line of 150 miles from the Sutlej to the Ganges Canal ; the lower Ganges and Calcutta by a line of 150 miles ; the Burhampoota and Calcutta by a few short lines of about 100 miles in all. The Orissa Canals, and those of the Godavery by about 250 miles. The canals and rivers on the west coast are in the same way divided by several short lines of a few miles each.

Every one of these lines is without a single difficulty, and they could certainly be executed at an average cost of 2,000*l.* a mile, at the utmost ; so that the whole of these most important links, 1,000 miles in all, could be constructed for two millions, and they would connect all the great river basins of the Indus, Ganges, Burhampoota, Mahanudlee,

Godavery, Kistna, Pennaur, and Cavery, forming a connected navigation from Kurrachee in the extreme west, to Loodeeanah in the extreme north, to Sadiya in the extreme East, and to Point Calymere in nearly the extreme south: thus uniting almost the whole of India, and bringing almost every part within reach of every other part for help in case of famine, and for all other traffic.

One additional link of 400 miles from Madras to the west coast which would cost under a million, would bring all traffic down to a point, to which ultimately most things will require to be brought, in order to fall in with the great line of traffic between India and Europe by the Suez Canal.

This work is so intimately connected with the subject now before us that I must necessarily say a few words about it. In the first place, as to its practicability, in my opinion there is no more room to doubt about this, than about any engineering work that ever was executed; and I speak as one whose experience bears directly upon the points in it that have been most questioned. Further, I have not a bit less doubt that taken in connexion with the increased use of slow steam-power at sea, this must inevitably become the principal line of traffic between India and Europe.

I therefore conclude that we must keep this in view in every Indian question, and especially in this of internal communication; and I feel confident that the grand point of departure will be the point of the west coast, opposite to the great opening in the Ghauts, Ponany, in lat. 11° , from which to the mouth of the Red Sea there are peculiar and remarkable advantages for crossing the Arabian Sea, in the great extent of fine weather and smooth water which is found in the centre of it, even in the midst of the monsoon.

Keeping this in view, it is impossible to over-estimate the importance of the most perfect system of steamboat communication throughout India, terminating at that point on the west coast. The distance from thence to England by Suez is 6,000 miles, against 15,000 from Calcutta by the Cape.

Thus one of the first things to be done is to execute those short connecting links, so strangely left uncut hitherto, and in which the money spent will produce such disproportionate results, by giving increased effect to so many thousand miles of navigation already in operation. After this the next thing to do will be to cut all additional

lines that will lay open the populous tracts, mines, forests, &c. and connect them with the present system of navigation.

The other immediate outlay called for is for the completion of the present irrigation schemes. Think of these enormously productive works being left year after year unfinished for want of 100,000*l.* or 200,000*l.* while 80 millions have been spent in unremunerative works, which have entailed many and irritating taxes on the country. On the Godaverry about 100,000*l.* is required to irrigate 300,000 acres, which would yield 120,000*l.* a year on one crop, or 120 per cent. And on the Kistna the same. And think of the Ganges Canal having been allowed to linger on for twenty years, and not half the land yet watered, for want of the works necessary to correct its defects and complete the distribution. But not only this, think of those invaluable works upon which not only the populations of those districts themselves, but of all the neighbouring ones depend for their lives, not being even kept in repair. The late Upper Godaverry Commission state that the locks in the Delta were out of order, and that one main line of canal had been closed for nine months. And this is corroborated by a settler there, who states that many of the canals were useless from want of necessary repairs, and that land yielding 30,000*l.* in revenue had been thrown up from the failure of the supply of water. Who could believe it possible that even in our day there could be such astonishing neglect of these vital works? But if anybody says this is incredible, I would strongly recommend to him this axiom, never to believe anything respecting our past management of India unless it is incredible.

The first thing therefore to be done on this point is to repair, correct, complete, and extend all the present projects. All money so expended, if laid out with ordinary engineering skill, will make immense returns, because all the heavy works connected with these projects having been already constructed, what remains to be done will be disproportionately productive. A million will put the four great Government projects, the Punjab, the Ganges, Godaverry, and Kistna Canals in a very respectable state.

The next expenditure should be in storing water to complete the supply throughout the year to the great irrigation works now in operation. The Godaverry, the Kistna, and the Cavery, for instance, have only a small supply of water during the dry season, and thus the channels are little or not at all used during part of the year. About

3,500 million cubic yards are required to complete the supply of each of these deltas, or 10,000 in all, which would cost one million, and yield about three-quarters of a million in water-rate, or 75 per cent. But in doing this I should mention that the same water will improve the navigation of the rivers by which it is conducted from the tanks to the irrigation. Thus from 500 to 1,000 miles of the Godavery, and its branches, would be greatly improved as navigations by this addition to their streams in the dry season. The present stream of the Godavery at the end of the dry season is 300,000 cubic yards per hour, and if water were stored fully to supply the irrigation, the stream would be kept to one and a half million cubic yards, or five times the present supply, which would make quite a good navigation.

The further expenditure should be spread over all India. Such works ought to be begun at once in every district, that all may share in the benefit, and that a certain supply of food may be secured to every portion of the country. One crop of rice on 65 millions of acres would secure food for about 160 millions of people, or more than our whole population; but of course, all the irrigated land would not be employed in growing food only. An expenditure of 60,000*l.* or 70,000*l.* a year should be immediately allowed for every district for the commencement of both storing and distributing water.

I do not here go into the question of how this money should be expended, whether by Government or by private companies, because it is more a question for the statesman than the engineer. I may mention that there are two joint projects now in hand by Irrigation Companies, and in both of them they are beginning to irrigate, with a prospect of a considerable extent this year in one of them. These will ultimately irrigate probably three million acres.

But this I must protest against, viz. the Government neither doing the works themselves, nor letting others do them. Lord Canning commenced the system of irrigation by Companies, but for the last five years the course pursued has been to prevent a single new project being commenced, under the plea that Government ought to execute the works themselves; but at the same time not only not doing them, but neither finishing those that have been begun nor even keeping them in good repair. Not a single acre of new irrigation nor a single mile of navigation have been put in hand for five years; only some insignificant sums have been allowed towards correcting defects and distributing to a small extent of land

belonging to the old projects. Not even one-tenth of the actual profits from the Godaverry Works has been allowed to be expended in their completion. But during this time many long papers have been written, showing how immensely valuable irrigation is, and indeed how absolutely necessary ; at the same time pointing out no end of imaginary difficulties that lie in the way of it, and of imaginary ways of meeting them, but never *doing* one single thing. Nor is there the slightest prospect at this moment, even of this awful famine putting an end to this system of trifling, unless some entirely new agency is brought in. When a man can be found who will write nothing but a simple order for a loan to be raised and works commenced, we may hope for something. But nothing is so destructive of all my hopes about it, as those official papers on the immense advantages and necessity of irrigation. By long experience I now know what they mean : they mean that in the present awakened public interest in this subject, some new means must be found to evade the peremptory duty of watering India, and this is the one adopted to put off for a few years longer, if possible, this dreaded work, by amusing the public with paper upon paper on the subject. A volume of such papers has lately been published by the House of Commons, all filled with fine writing, but not one word about *doing*. And this has hitherto answered its purpose. Last year, in an official correspondence with the Indian Office, this was objected to me. "How can you say that nothing is doing about irrigation, when such and such papers have been written ?" My reply is, "What has been *done* ?" If India could be irrigated with ink, the famines would have been stopped long ago ; but I should prefer a Governor-General, or head of the Public Works department, who would irrigate one acre or cut one mile of navigation, to one who would write a whole blue-book full of frothy declamation about the necessity of irrigation, and the terrible difficulties attending it. The sluggard says there is a lion in the way. That I am not beating the air in pressing this point I give a perfect specimen of the present course.

In the present Budget speech at Calcutta this year, it is said, "If any doubt has hitherto existed as to the expediency of engaging in great and extensive schemes of irrigation, that doubt has been completely dispelled by the lamentable events of the last year. There can be no deliberation in dealing with famine, and the issue forced upon the Government has been not whether it shall engage in speculation which may yield an uncertain profit, but whether whole districts of the country shall be

exposed to a periodical depopulation for want of those preventive measures which human power can command. Irrigation in India, Sir, is the great question of the day, as the repeal of the corn-laws and unrestricted commerce were the great questions in England in days gone by; but all that the repeal of the corn-laws and free trade have done for England, and much more than all, can be done for the people of India by works which will fertilize their fields, and place their means of subsistence beyond the reach of accidents," &c. &c. This is continued through many more paragraphs. This is a specimen of what is said and written by the antagonists of irrigation; for those who say the things ought to be done and do not do them, are the real antagonists. Now let us turn to what is *done*. Immediately following the above demonstrations of the benefits of irrigation, the same paper says, "The amount which will be required by the local governments on account of irrigation works, does not exceed 700,000*l.* I wish it were double, but hasty preparations for a large expenditure on such projects would be ill-made."

So that the seven presidencies of India are to have each 100,000*l.* for all irrigation works, which would be 5,000*l.* for instance, for each district in the Madras presidency—not nearly enough for the absolutely necessary repairs. And thus the result of the above words is to be not only that irrigation works are to be stopped, but that even the necessary repairs are not to be provided for. The more essential repairs of the Punjab, Ganges, Godavery, Kistna, and Tanjore irrigations at 3 per cent. would be 120,000*l.*, or one-sixth of what is allowed for the whole of the 130 districts of India.

The present returns from the irrigation works of Tanjore, Kistna, and Godavery alone, are more than this whole sum allowed for both repairs and new works for all India; and out of this sum of 700,000*l.* a-year, paid by these three districts for irrigation, they cannot be allowed the 30,000 or 40,000*l.* that is absolutely necessary to keep those works in good repair. Thus nothing is to be done for the extension of irrigation. It is of no use saying, "But you don't know what we intend to do next year." The question is not about what it is intended to do, but about what is really done. Whether a thing is really done, or is only intended to be done, makes the whole difference. We do not want intentions, but irrigation. Famine will never be prevented by intentions.

I must beg earnestly to call public attention to this point, which is the

very centre of the object we are aiming at. The public who are at this moment interested in India, and are indignant at this awful famine, are completely deceived by such papers as these. But what are we to judge by, men's words, or their deeds? Here are those invaluable works on the Godaverry which have been the grand support against this famine in the neighbouring districts, going to ruin for want of repair, and this is to be continued this year also, and will assuredly be continued year after year if new measures are not taken.

It must be particularly observed that this system has been continued under three successive heads of the India Office, up to the recent change, and under four different financiers.

And I must also particularly notice how completely the Council at Calcutta failed on this occasion. Not a single member said one word on this serious question—probably did not know whether 700,000*l.* or seven millions were required to keep the irrigation works in repair, or whether the works were in repair or not. In stating these things I am not blaming this or that individual, I am merely stating facts. At this moment no new works are ordered, even the repair and completion of the old ones are not ordered. Nor is there the sign of commencing upon such a general and effective system of works, as I advocate; not a sign of that being done in irrigation and navigation which has been done about railways and telegraphs; not a single canal has been ordered to be cut, not a single great project of irrigation has been put in hand.

And this brings me to the point, What can be done to secure such an interest in the matter, and such a knowledge of it, as will put an end to this fearful and ruinous system, this putting off from year to year these vital works, as will lead to an intelligent and effective prosecution of this essential enterprise, the irrigating and navigating India?

Nothing can be more evident to my mind than this, that while the work is left in the hands of the Councils, nothing can possibly be expected. What would be thought of the proposition that the ministry in England should themselves manage the Public Works? How could it ever be imagined that the Councils, who had upon them the whole multifarious affairs of government, could afford time and attention sufficient to enable them to understand and manage the Public Works themselves? How is it possible but that we should witness such entire ignorance and indifference about it as the Council of Calcutta have shown, even after witnessing the terrible famine that had been raging round them for a year?

How would things go on in England if there were no Boards of Public Works, &c. ?

I cannot but think that to any person who will consider this subject ever so little, it will appear that, till there is a Board of three or four, whose sole business it is to attend to this one thing, and will thus be able to take sufficient interest in it, to acquire sufficient knowledge of the subject, and to have sufficient authority, it is altogether out of the question that the matter should be intelligently and vigorously prosecuted. A Board should be composed of a few members, so that they will not impede one another. What we want is action ; and for this a very small number is essential.

Such a Board could lay before the Government the whole subject in a digested form, suggest the sums that should be expended annually, have a complete scheme of works for all India sketched out, take charge of the loans, order the expenditure, keep an account with the treasury of all money received as returns, give in a complete statement of all moneys to be laid before Parliament, and show the exact result of the whole expenditure, both directly and indirectly, as far as can possibly be ascertained. Such a Board, if at all justly selected, must of necessity soon take a high interest in the sole work they had to do, and they must soon acquire such a knowledge of the subject as to distinguish between plausible nonsense and solid reasoning in the Engineer's reports that were laid before them. They would never be persuaded that works which made no returns were without a mistake, and that those that returned 50 per cent. were all wrong ; nor that a work yielding 270,000*l.* a year ought to be allowed to get into disrepair for want of an annual expenditure of 10,000*l.* or 20,000*l.*

I of course do not attempt to go into details about the arrangement of such a Board ; I only insist upon this, that nothing can be expected till there is such a Board who have nothing else to attend to, and who will feel their responsibility to the nation, to whom the loans will be intrusted without any power of the financier to meddle with them, or apply them to other purposes of the state ; and who will be under the necessity of showing to the public clearly what the result of their management is.

I wish I were able to put effectively before you the amazing importance of this subject, not to India only, but to the whole empire.

Upon this regulation of the water depends whether India is a

reproach, a source of weakness, anxiety, and impoverishment to the empire, or a source of immense wealth, of unbounded supplies of materials for her manufactures, and of demand for her goods ; of strength and honour to us as a nation and as Christians.

It is the sight of shamefully neglected millions perishing of famine and such things, that shake our power there. And, on the other hand, it is impossible to over-estimate the effect upon the people of India, if in this case the people had been assured that the Government were on the alert, and if an effective system of relief had been inaugurated in good time.

Think of our having had four financiers of India, not one of whom could comprehend this simple question, whether it were better to throw all India into a ferment by bringing in new and cruel taxes, such as the salt-tax, which has been raised four times, or to add many millions to the revenue by irrigation, to the benefit and satisfaction of everybody without exception ? There are three districts the revenue of which has been doubled, and three quarters of a million added to the resources without producing one angry feeling, but, on the contrary, intense satisfaction. At this moment India is in great excitement at a new tax on trades, to yield a few hundred thousand pounds a year from all India. Who is up in arms at the payment of a new tax in the shape of a water-rate, yielding in revenue a quarter of a million from a single district out of one hundred and thirty, and certainly much more than a million to those who pay it ?

If a quarter of a million additional can be obtained from a single district, what is to prevent the finances being made to overflow, if only a few districts are thus improved. Yet the financiers we have had could not perceive this palpable truth. The revenue of Godaverry was 220,000*l.* ; it is now 490,000*l.* and rapidly increasing, and will soon be 600,000*l.* or 700,000*l.* if the works are completed.

And what are to be the consequences if we persist in thus doing nothing till we have another famine ? What do you suppose were the thoughts of the assembled princes last year, when they were gravely and solemnly advised to take care of their people, while an immense portion of our own territory was at that very time strewed with hundreds of thousands of skeletons of men, women, and children, who had perished solely through our inconceivable indifference and merciless neglect ? Can it be supposed that, because we choose to shut our own eyes, we can shut

the eyes of certainly one of the acutest people on earth? Can it be supposed that these polite princes were not saying to themselves, "Physician, heal thyself. Go back to Calcutta, and try to save the miserable remnant of those millions that you left to perish some months ago, and, when your people have saved them and restored to life the millions that perished, we shall be prepared to listen to your advice about our management of our people?"

Now I speak confidently when I say, from what I know of the native princes of India, that there was hardly one there present that would not have taken some care to provide for his people if they were threatened with such a calamity for some months before it actually occurred.

And with all this before us, a whole year has passed since the famine was at its height, and to this day not one step has been taken under three different heads of the India Office to provide against similar terrible visitations. Nothing can be more certain than the terrible fact that every party has utterly failed in this case to do the least of what the plainest calls of duty and common humanity demanded.

A year has passed, and not a single work is in hand, or even ordered, nor even have projects been called for, not a Governor has been induced to take such works in hand, or authorized to draw money.

If it be asked, what has he done who presses these facts upon one's attention, I can't certainly say I have done what I could. All I have done was to write officially, or privately, or speak to almost every Secretary of State, Governor-general, Governor, Financier, and Member of Council, to many Members of Parliament, to the merchants of Calcutta, the manufacturers of Manchester and Birmingham, to the representatives of the Chambers of Commerce of England, to the Social Science Association, and to the public generally by books and pamphlets. And I must acknowledge that sometimes I have received very courteous answers, but not one has taken one step in compliance with my arguments and remonstrances as to this one thing, the only thing I wanted, that they would water India. I speak of those in office. And we are at this moment mostly where we were as to any real setting to work in the matter, as we were when I first wrote officially on the subject thirty years ago. In the meantime, certainly, three or four intended projects have been executed to a certain extent, but this is a totally different thing from setting ourselves about a general and effective scheme of such works, such as will really meet the exigencies of the case. They are

indeed invaluable as showing what can be done ; but if, instead of being used as specimens, they are made an excuse for leaving the main work unexecuted, as it has been hitherto, they are entirely destructive. And it must be remembered that, though I am in no position myself, I speak in a manner with authority, as a man who can speak from forty years' personal experience, supported by undeniable and indeed undenied results, both as respects complete preservation of vast tracts from famine, and also such enormous returns in money to the treasury as leaves no room for one word of excuse on the score of want of funds.

I should not conclude this part of my paper without saying that one man in authority has proved himself a *doer*, so far as his sphere of action allowed him ; but it was, if I am rightly informed, only by acting in direct contravention of the intentions of his superiors.

When I had the honour of writing to a late Secretary of State, urging that measures should be taken to provide against this famine, and detailing the awful consequences in Madras on two former occasions from determined refusal to attend to such remonstrances, they replied courteously, that they hoped matters wouldn't turn out so bad as I feared, and that if they did, they had no doubt the local authorities would take the necessary steps to meet the calamity. How much more probable it was that they would follow the steps of their superiors, as they did, and do nothing.*

The Report of the Commissioners on the Famine appointed by the Secretary of State has now, I suppose, arrived. What can be expected from it ? As if it were possible that a Commission composed of members of the service, and appointed by the local authorities, should give a sound verdict in the case ! Nor is it possible that they should pass judgment on their superiors. I do earnestly entreat the Members of Parliament belonging to this Association to take up this matter with decision. No body but Parliament can possibly take cognizance of public matters which involve the conduct of the Heads of Departments and Councils to whom the nation has entrusted the conduct of those affairs.

It is impossible that anything but a Royal Commission, or Parliamentary Committee, can do justice either to India or to England in this case. If this dreadful case is slurred over by the representatives of the nation, upon the whole nation will lay the weight of this great crime.

* The correspondence itself was not read at the meeting, but is added in the appendix at the special request of Sir Arthur Cotton.

And if this question is not now taken out of the hands of those who have committed it, another period of years will pass over without anything being done effectively to irrigate India, to be terminated by the deaths of another million or two of our people.

I earnestly call upon every member of this Association to consider what he can do to help to remove this blot, as far as it can now be removed, from our nation, by fixing the guilt of it upon those who are the real delinquents, and by insisting upon these great and essential works being at length taken in hand, and that instantly, without waiting for more volumes of useless frothy writing,—only an excuse for not *doing*.

I would conclude by leaving with the Association this riddle for them to exercise their ingenuity upon. Why is this work not done? I must say, that this is to me the most inexplicable thing I ever met with. Everything is ready, money is overflowing, abundance of experience has been obtained, we have by constant experiments proved what things to avoid in planning such works, and what to do; the levels of all India are fully known; there are engineers of the very first talent and thoroughly experienced; we have ample data from actual cost for estimating, and from actual result for calculating returns; we know perfectly that millions more will perish within a very few years if irrigation is not extended; we know that railways cannot carry the great traffic of the country, and that canals can; all the materials for planning the works are ready; the determined antagonists, even, all declare that the works are absolutely necessary; surely, the question, Why are the works not put in hand? is as great a question as this Association could now take up. I cannot answer it myself.

The CHAIRMAN said he did not wish to call in question Sir Arthur Cotton's statistics, his facts, or his deductions. They would all agree that the question was one of paramount importance, so far as regarded India. But the paper reminded him of the fable of the mice, who all agreed that it was advisable to kill the cat, but whose difficulty was, how to accomplish that object. The question appeared to him to be entirely one for capitalists, and not for Government. So far as his experience went, and he was twenty-two years in India, the local governments were fully alive to the value of irrigation, and they encouraged the construction of wells and tanks, and the embankment of rivers, and all means of artificial irrigation. But when they came to a system of water transit they came to a

different system altogether, and he believed that the views of Sir Arthur Cotton with regard to irrigation would have been carried out long ago had he had not mixed with them the question of water transit *versus* land transit. They would all understand that if they had not a system of railways, and if the system of water transit were put before them for the first time, the question of water transit *versus* land transit would not arise. But they had got the land transit ; they had got the railways. Sir Arthur Cotton told them that the Clyde boats went at the rate of twenty miles an hour, and no doubt with a single boat-load he could travel at that rate too ; but could he do it with a train of boats carrying thousands of tons of freight ? Could the immense system of water carriage and irrigation canals be carried out on the gigantic scale that Sir Arthur Cotton proposed ? He did not mean to say it could not be done, but were they to invite capitalists to subscribe their capital to do it ? Now the question with Englishmen was, would a thing pay ? If they found it would they would do it, but not without. As regarded irrigation, the Indian Government were quite alive to the difference between dry crops and wet crops ; and on a small scale, by means of damming up rivers and the digging of wells, and by making advances on these works, they had endeavoured to carry out the object in view. This he knew from his own experience. The railway system had taken root in India, and they had lines to connect Bombay with Bengal, and Bengal with Madras. Of course the railway carried goods, but the passenger traffic was the most lucrative. ("No.") He was sorry that none of the members of the Indian Council were present ; he did not wish to uphold the Government, but he did think that this was too gigantic a plan for the Government to undertake.

Mr. SMOLLETT said he thought they would have heard less of railways and more of irrigation. Sir Arthur Cotton spoke a good deal about the famine in Orissa, which was one of the most disgraceful things that had happened in our age. He did not know who was to blame, but the Indian Government took no steps whatever. He had endeavoured, as a member of Parliament, to get the Government to lay the papers on the table, but they had refused. He was told they did not produce them because they would throw obloquy on individuals in high stations, and that they therefore wished to have a report from a commission, and they had got a commission of their own body, which would shift the blame on anybody but themselves. His opinion about irrigation was that the advantages of it

were grossly exaggerated. Sir Arthur Cotton had over and over again stated that irrigation would pay more than 100 per cent, and companies were formed on that expectation. If he had been Secretary of State for India he should have informed the deputations from the companies that waited upon him for a concession, that he was prepared to give them a concession for a large territory if they paid several millions for it. But Lord Stanley told them nothing of the sort, but he offered to pay them 5 per cent. In his opinion it had been a gigantic swindle. When they had expended a million, and found that they could not raise a shilling in the city of London, the Government said, "Then you had better give us your canal." "No," said the directors, "we will not do that, but if you will lend us 600,000*l.* or 700,000*l.* more, we will spend it and draw our salaries; and if at the end of that time we do not get a profit we will hand you over the works." That had been the result of the Toomadra scheme. Then there was another scheme, the Mahanaddy scheme. They raised a little money and promised to pay 5 per cent., and he believed did pay 5 per cent. out of the capital but never out of the profits, and they had come to a standstill. When they talked of undertakings of this character to pay 50 or 60 or 100 per cent., they ought to have some better guarantee for it than those two schemes. The fact was those were not the paying projects that they were told they were, and he trusted that the Government would not borrow twenty, forty, or fifty millions, and give it to a Board of Public Works. There was no such thing as public works in this country; they were all private works; and if the Government in India undertook such works they would result in failure.

Colonel F. COTTON denied that the Government works in India were failures, and asked if the Godaverry works had been a failure.

The CHAIRMAN remarked that they had been, most of them, successes.

Colonel F. COTTON protested against the company which had been alluded to being called a gigantic swindle, and said they did their best with the money, and when more money was provided to carry the work into execution it would be a success. He would observe with regard to the carriage of goods that there was no necessity for speed, and no object to be gained in carrying them at the rate of more than 100 miles a day.

Mr. DADABHAI NAOROJI, as a native, would ask, Why should the million and a half of people have perished of famine in Orissa if irrigation could have been effected? What they wanted now was to get out of the region of discussion and into the region of fact.

Mr. BONNERJEE observed that the Government, who had taken the whole country entirely under their own hands, and who had repressed the energies of the people, ought to find the money for irrigation. As regarded the question of water carriage *versus* railway carriage, he thought Sir Arthur Cotton had proved that water carriage was better for heavy goods. But they had got railways, and the question of irrigation had nothing to do with railway transit or water transit. If the Government had been really desirous of carrying out irrigation on a large scale, the thing would have been done. But the fact was that the English Government was in danger of being strangled by its own red tape. He moved that a vote of thanks be given to Sir A. Cotton for his paper.

Mr. E. P. Wood seconded the motion. It seemed to him that the great difficulty in this matter was the want of money. Sir Arthur Cotton spoke of a hundred millions.

Sir ARTHUR COTTON—You may do it to what extent you like.

Mr. E. P. Wood said he should like to know where the money was to come from. The Government was hampered by the permanent settlement which was made by Lord Cornwallis in 1793. They could not increase the land tax in the large district where permanent settlement prevailed, and they could only get the money by increasing the other taxes. Under these circumstances he did not think they ought to blame the Government.

Sir A. COTTON, in reply, said the Government works cost half a million, and they yielded a return of 270,000*l.* a year. That was looked upon as "a gigantic swindle" fifteen years ago.

Mr. SMOLLETT remarked that it was hardly fair to introduce that history of fifteen years ago.

Sir A. COTTON said, then, with regard to the Toomadra works, they were only in operation this year. As to the railways, the fact was they could not carry the produce of the country; and with regard to the raising of the money required for the works by taxes, that had nothing to do with it, for, as was shown in the Godavery works, the return was so enormous that no question could arise as to the raising of the money.

The motion was then agreed to, and a vote of thanks having been given to General North for his conduct in the chair the proceedings were brought to a close.

(COPY.)

FROM SIR ARTHUR COTTON, MAJOR-GEN. R.E., MADRAS, TO THE
UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA.

SIR,

The immediate prospect of famine in Bengal will perhaps be considered a sufficient reason for any person who has seen such times in India offering a suggestion on the subject. On the two last occasions of famine in Madras, nothing whatever was done, after the certainty of their occurrence was seen, to prepare for them, in consequence of which the most terrible misery and loss of life followed, most of which might certainly have been prevented, had means been used, perfectly within the reach of Government.

On the last occasion, the famine in Bellary, being then Chief Engineer in Madras, as soon as the failure of crops was evident, as it seemed to be my duty, I transmitted two minutes to Government, earnestly suggesting that during the two or three months which would intervene before the great pressure of famine was felt, preparation should be made by—

1st. Sending officers to plan, estimate, and mark out some great and important works in that part of the country, which should be of permanent benefit.

2nd. To organize a complete staff of officers, &c., to superintend the execution of the works, distribute the food, and organize the system of relief.

3rd. To collect tools and materials on the spot.

4th. To collect food, provide shelter, &c.

Unhappily the counsel that prevailed at that time, in the face of the terrible warnings we had so repeatedly had in that Presidency, was to do nothing at all to provide against the certain calamity; and, in consequence, when it occurred, 100,000 starving people, mostly too weak for work, were thrown upon the local authorities, who then had to feed and employ them, without any organized staff, any work marked out, any stores of tools, food, material, &c. The consequence was unknown misery, multiplied deaths, and an expenditure of 120,000*l.* upon work which was afterwards estimated by the Collector as worth 30,000*l.*

In the same way, when the famine occurred in Guntur, several hundred thousand persons died, and not a hand was moved till 70,000 starving and desperate men entered Madras, leaving their families dead and dying. Under the pressure of immediate danger to life and property, in Madras, all scruples were then forgotten, and food was purchased and officers appointed to distribute it.

In the official papers it is calculated that the direct loss in revenue in Ganjam alone from this famine was near a million sterling, besides a much greater sum in private property; the former sum being much more than double what is likely to be spent on the Kistna works, which are calculated effectually to prevent such a calamity.

What I beg earnestly to urge is, that such an awful event may not only be in a great measure prevented, but actually turned into a permanent blessing, if only such steps are taken as are perfectly within the power of Government.

If the measures proposed by the Madras Government for Bellary had been adopted, the very same money that was expended might have been carefully laid out on a permanent work of the highest possible utility. It might have been used to irrigate 120,000 acres by means of navigable canals, and so far from the money being a loss, the works would have returned 50 per cent., besides almost securing the whole tract from famine permanently.

The fact certainly is that such an occasion, by placing at the disposal of Government several hundred thousand labourers, is an inestimable boon, if it is made use of, enabling the Government to accomplish works of essential importance in a year, which would otherwise require ten.

Surely the terrible example of the effects of a system of doing nothing in the immediate presence of such awful calamities, is quite sufficient to prove the prudence of adopting a course of forethought and action.

In the present case, the important part of the necessary preparations has already been accomplished, viz. the planning of works. Such works have already been projected for Behar, Bengal, and Orissa. In the last they are already under construction, and everything is completely organized, and nothing whatever is wanted but additional funds. The East India Irrigation Company are now actually commencing irrigation, but their expenditure is restricted to 10,000*l.* a month.

Nothing whatever is required but to place at their disposal 50,000*l.* or 100,000*l.* a month, to enable them at once to expand their operations, and where they are employing 20,000 people they may employ 200,000, or as many as the famine places at their disposal. If this is done *at once* not a rupee of the money will be lost, but on the contrary it will be laid out to the greatest advantage, the works being worth at least five times what they cost, while an incalculable benefit will have been obtained in the rescue of perhaps hundreds of thousands from ruin and death.

And the works which have been so long under consideration for Behar and Bengal, might in the same way be even now commenced upon, for the whole scheme has been so thoroughly examined and considered that it might be begun at once in many places along the whole line from Allahabad to Calcutta. A large portion of these works consists of earthworks, upon which immense numbers can be employed. It must be remembered that the Behar work was offered to the Irrigation Company three or four years ago by Government itself. I need only here advert to the feelings of those who used their power to prevent this essential and beneficial work being executed during that time, if, as seems now inevitable, that whole tract is desolated by famine from want of irrigation.

With respect to the money required, it certainly must and will be found and spent. The only question (if the accounts in the papers of the prospects of the country are correct) now is, whether by acting prudently it is spent to immense permanent advantage in *preventing* to a great extent this terrible famine, or at a total loss of the capital in trying in a

small degree to mitigate its horrors when it is too late to organize works, and the people are too weak for labour.

One of the first things to be done should be to construct a very large flotilla with the least possible delay, to provide for the carriage of the enormous masses of food that will be required to be brought from the eastward, or wherever it can be found within reach of water-carriage.

It is certain that the public of this country will most heartily support any measures that may be necessary to provide funds, &c. to rescue millions of their fellow-subjects from death.

The intense interest taken in the Jamaica affair, shows certainly that nothing in which the interests of multitudes are vitally concerned, can pass within the limits of the Empire that will not awaken anxious interest here.

I need hardly add that now not a moment is to be lost if anything effectual is to be done. The season is already well advanced, and it will be necessary to give ample authority by telegraph to the local authorities to use funds and all other means freely, with the assurance that arrangements will be made here to secure ample supplies of money.]

I conclude by repeating that I trust that, in such an extreme case, such a suggestion as is here respectfully made may be excused and considered.

I have the honour to be, my Lord,

Your most obedient Servant,

(Signed) A. COTTON,

Major-Gen. Royal Madras Engineers.

BRYANSFORD, CASTLEWELLAN, Co. DOWN.

December 28th, 1865.

INDIA OFFICE, LONDON,

January 12th, 1866.

SIR,

I have laid before the Secretary of State for India in Council your letter, dated 28th ult., offering suggestions as to the measures to be taken for guarding against the consequences of a famine in Bengal, which you believe to be imminent; and in reply I am directed to state that Sir C. Wood trusts that there is no reason to apprehend that any general famine is likely to be experienced in the Lower Provinces of Bengal; but he has every confidence that, should such a calamity unhappily occur, the local Government and the Government of India will not fail to take all necessary measures for protecting the poorer classes of the population against the effects of the visitation.

I am, &c.,

(Signed)

HERBERT MERIVALE.

To Major-Gen. Sir ARTHUR COTTON, R.E.

EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION.

The ADJOURNED ANNUAL MEETING of the Association was held at 55, Parliament Street, Westminster, on Tuesday, June 25th.

Present:—The Earl of Kellie, C.B., in the chair, Lord Erskine, Hon. F. Drummond, General North, General Jacob, C.B., Colonel Haly, R.E., F. B. Elliot, Esq., J. G. Coleman, Esq. (of Madras), W. C. Bonnerjee, Esq., J. W. Sutherland, Esq., Sir Henry Ricketts, K.C.S.I., Major Sinclair, Major R. Robertson, Captain Barber, Captain Phelps, and many others.

On the motion of Mr. J. W. SUTHERLAND, the Earl of Kellie, C.B., one of the Vice-Presidents of the Association, was called to the chair.

The CHAIRMAN,—Gentlemen, in the absence of Lord Lyveden, I have been requested to take the chair, and I do so with much pleasure. I regret the absence of his lordship, who has written a letter to the Secretary, in these words:—

“ 20, SAVILE ROW,
June 25, 1867.

“ DEAR SIR,—I regret that I am unexpectedly prevented attending the meeting of the Association this afternoon.

“ Yours truly,
“ LYVEDEN.

“ To Captain BARBER, 55, Parliament Street.”

The General Meeting was adjourned from the 14th of March last, for certain purposes which will be explained, and I now request the Secretary to read the report of the committee, which has been framed.

Captain BARBER—Shall I first read an analysis of the proceedings of the last General Meeting?

The CHAIRMAN—Yes, I think so.

Captain BARBER then read the minutes of the annual meeting which was held at Willis's Rooms on 14th March last.

The CHAIRMAN—Is it the pleasure of the meeting that these minutes be confirmed?

The Minutes were confirmed.

The CHAIRMAN—Captain Barber will now read the report of the managing committee to the members of the East India Association.

Captain BARBER then read the following report:—

To the Members of the East India Association.

GENTLEMEN,—In accordance with the resolution passed at the annual meeting on the 14th March, 1867, the managing committee have appointed to-day for holding the adjourned meeting, and they have much pleasure in stating that since their last report 122 gentlemen have been elected, of whom 31 have declared themselves to be life members.

Two very interesting papers have been read, one by Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji on "The Duties of England to India," and the other by Sir Arthur Cotton on "Irrigation;" and arrangements have been made for other equally interesting subjects being discussed by the Association, of which due notice will be given to the members.

In accordance with the request of several members, the committee have published the papers already read before the Association, and they will continue to print those that may be read in future. They would, however, suggest that five shillings per annum should be paid by each member desiring to be furnished with the papers as published.

The number of vice-presidents is now six, as provided by the rules, but there are several distinguished noblemen and gentlemen, well acquainted with Indian subjects, whom the committee deem it would be desirable to solicit to become vice-presidents; and it is therefore suggested that Rule 6 should be altered so as to give the committee power to increase the number of vice-presidents whenever they may think it necessary to do so.

The managing committee have had under their serious consideration the proposed extension of the Association to the colonies. They have received communications from India on the subject, and they are led to infer that it will be to the interests of the Association not to extend its operations at present beyond India and China.

Several military members having addressed the committee upon the subject of a general order by the Calcutta Government, greatly modifying the India Office despatch for granting compensation to officers for losses

by the abolition of the bonus system in force in the Hon. East India Company's army, the letters were referred to the military committee of the Association, who reported that they considered the managing committee should take action thereon; and a deputation accordingly waited upon the Secretary of State for India, and the result was that an amended despatch was sent to India, annulling the general order referred to. This proceeding on the part of the managing committee has been considered by one of the members of the Association as contrary to the spirit of the regulations, and notice has been given of a proposal to be submitted to-day for altering the rules.

The managing committee, however, feel that if questions affecting India, and involving matters of local importance—such as that referred to—are not to be dealt with by the Association until the members generally have discussed the same, the influence of the Association will not only be very materially lessened, but its existence even endangered; and they have every confidence that the course they have adopted will not only be upheld by this meeting, but that they will be authorized to deal in future with questions affecting India, or any question affecting the inhabitants thereof, in a similar manner.

Applications for the admission of four Indian local associations having been made to the managing committee, they have determined to recommend that the following be the rates of subscription:—If the members of an association do not exceed 25, the life subscription of each member be 75 rs.; the annual subscription, 7 rs. 8a. If exceeding 25, and under 50, life members to pay 50 rs.; annual subscriptions, 5 rs. If exceeding 50, life members to pay 25 rs.; annual subscriptions, 2 rs. 8a.; on the condition that all the members of such association become members of the East India Association, or that the chairman for the time being of each local association shall become a member on payment of 50l. It is, however, possible that these suggestions may hereafter require modification, and the committee would suggest whether it would not be desirable to leave the matter in their hands, to be dealt with as circumstances may require.

There are 141 subscriptions unpaid, and the committee urgently request that these arrears may be discharged with as little delay as possible.

The next meeting of the Association will be held on Friday, July 5th, at eight o'clock P.M., when a paper will be read by Lord William

Hay upon "Mysore," when the chair will be taken by Sir James Ferguson, M.P.

The managing committee recommend that Mr. W. J. Fitzwilliam, late of Calcutta, be added to the committee for general purposes.

CHARLES FREDERICK NORTH, Major-General,

Chairman of the Managing Committee.

55, PARLIAMENT STREET, June 25th, 1867.

The CHAIRMAN—I beg leave to propose that this report be received and adopted by the meeting generally.

General NORTH—My lord and gentlemen, in rising to second the proposition of the chairman, that the report of the managing committee be accepted and adopted, I beg to congratulate the Association on the progress that it has already made towards becoming a permanent institution. An association of this sort, as you will understand, is one that is likely to be of very slow growth indeed; it requires to be very tenderly dealt with, to be nourished, and to be watched with very great care. The managing committee, in expressing an opinion relative to a proposition which is to be brought forward to-day on the question of extending the objects of the Association to the colonies, wish it to be understood that that opinion is not intended to preclude a free and open discussion upon the proposition, but that the meeting would discuss the matter, and, having heard the *pros* and *cons*, decide upon it. From the communications received from India and elsewhere, particularly in this country, we are led to believe that the Association is yet too much in its infancy to allow us to admit the colonies to associate with them. The natives of India have not as yet, neither have the European inhabitants, shown a sufficient appreciation of the advantages that they may be expected to derive from a permanent association of this sort. They are waiting, I believe, to see whether it will be a success or not, but I am convinced that when they arrive at the conviction that it will be a permanent institution they will then give it their support, and will flock in in sufficient numbers to enable the question of admitting the colonies to be decided in the affirmative. Upon the other points which are alluded to in the report of the managing committee just read to you, I suppose some of you will make remarks, and that those remarks will be answered by other

members of the Association. I shall therefore content myself at present by simply seconding the motion.

Mr. W. C. BONNERJEE—I have to make a few observations, and what I have to say is this : that the principle referred to in the report, with reference to the deputation to the Secretary of State, was most irregular.

Mr. GORDON—I am sorry to interrupt you, but I think you labour under a mistake. You had better wait until after the report is adopted.

Mr. W. C. BONNERJEE—It appears as if the managing committee wish to prevent me from raising an important discussion, and from taking the opinion of the meeting upon the matter that I am about to refer to.

The CHAIRMAN—I think you ought to say now what you have to say.

Mr. W. C. BONNERJEE—My proposition has nothing to do with the deputation.

The CHAIRMAN—Your proposition is, according to the paper, “ To call attention to a deputation that waited on the Secretary of State for India on May 1st, in the name of the Association.” Rule 8 says, “That at the annual meeting a general managing committee shall be appointed, of whom four shall form a quorum, composed of a chairman, six members, and the chairman of each of the special committees, by whom a secretary and treasurer shall be appointed, and the entire affairs of the Association managed.” You are calling that rule in question ?

Mr. W. C. BONNERJEE—if your lordship will allow me—

The CHAIRMAN—if you are going to move that the “ affairs of the Association ” shall mean such and such a thing, it is quite another matter altogether. You are about to find fault with the conduct of the committee ; therefore, before we receive and adopt this report, you had better state what objections you have to make.

Mr. W. C. BONNERJEE—I do not say one word with reference to calling the conduct of the committee in question, but simply refer to the principle by which they were guided in regard to the deputation waiting upon the Secretary of State for India. I wish first of all to call attention to the deputation, and then bring forward Rule 8 of the Association for consideration. I submit that has nothing to do with my supposed coming forward in opposition to the conduct of the managing committee. I am not asking you not to uphold the conduct of the managing committee, but I am about to speak of the manner in which that committee is invested with power to proceed in the future. The conduct of the committee has

nothing to do with the resolution I am about to propose, and which I shall bring forward at the proper time.

The CHAIRMAN—It is understood that the proposition is a censure upon the committee. Your letters, I think, reflect upon their conduct in having gone before the Secretary of State; and though you now intend to bring forward a new resolution, which, of course, you are perfectly welcome to do, the first letters that you wrote contained a censure upon the conduct of the committee, and that induced the committee to mention it in their report.

Mr. W. C. BONNERJEE—If it is the intention of the meeting that I should propose my resolution now, and bring forward what I have to say in support of it, I will do so. I am in the hands of the meeting as to what is the best course to pursue.

Mr. Low—if the report is adopted, it is an answer to your resolution, surely.

The CHAIRMAN—Part of Mr. Bonnerjee's letters are to the effect that the committee have not authority to take upon themselves the advocacy and determination of any course, however just or deserving of support it may be.

Mr. W. C. BONNERJEE—That was the intent of my communication, and I am perfectly ready to go on with it. It will be in the recollection of the members that when the Association was formed there was a prospectus issued showing the benefits that would be derived from the formation of an East India Association.

Captain BARBER—I submit that to bring forward any prospectus issued before the formation of this Association is entirely out of order.

Mr. W. C. BONNERJEE—I cannot be interrupted in this way. I cannot possibly go on.

The CHAIRMAN—I think the honourable member has a right to proceed.

Mr. W. C. BONNERJEE—I never was at a public meeting before when such unseemly interruptions took place.

The CHAIRMAN—That is a strong word to use. By all means proceed.

Mr. W. C. BONNERJEE—There was a prospectus issued by several members who form the managing committee: Lord William Hay, Mr. Gordon, Mr. Low, Colonel Haly, the noble Chairman, and others, and that prospectus invited gentlemen to come forward and become members of the Association. My name appears amongst those who joined the

Association ; and the objects that are stated in that prospectus as falling within the legitimate operation of the Society are, to arrange, classify, and condense information, to render it available to those who may require it, to "strive to form public opinion," to advocate, &c. Then it goes on to say that, in order to carry out these objects, it is proposed to hire rooms as near as possible to the Houses of Parliament, and that the managing committee will carry out the details of the Association. After the first or second meeting, rules were formed for the guidance of the Association, and one of these rules is Rule 8, where it is stated that "At the annual meeting a general managing committee shall be appointed, of whom four shall form a quorum, composed of a chairman and six members, and the chairman of each of the special committees, by whom a secretary and treasurer shall be appointed, and the entire affairs of the Association managed." Now, what I wish to call attention to are the words, "and the entire affairs of the Association managed." Does that mean that the managing committee are not only to be the executive body of our society, to carry out the expressed views of the Association, or are they to carry out their own views, and deprive us of the power of thinking for ourselves—to take, in fact, such steps as they themselves may think to be desirable to be for the benefit of India? If so, I venture to submit that it is a thing never heard of before. There are many public bodies where the executive, no doubt, are left to take any course they may approve for the benefit of the society ; but this Society is one that has avowed objects to maintain, and cannot be carried out without consulting the members. The members of the Reform League have appointed an executive, it is true, but they have a settled programme on which to act. They know what they are to do : the matters are determined upon by the members beforehand, and then they request the executive committee to come forward and represent them in every public matter. In this Association of ours we have no settled programme as to what we should do, so that the managing committee can, without consulting us, carry any object into force. I venture to say that we have no such programme, and that every question that comes before us, whether connected with labour, politics, or religion, is left to be decided, not on its merits, but by the managing committee, who express an opinion, and carry it as far as they can, for the Association. There are a variety of questions which will come before us of an antagonistic character, and if the managing committee were to determine all of them, and so deprive the members of all the powers of

thought, it would be very detrimental indeed. Suppose a question arises in respect to the material advancement of the cultivation of land in India. There are many gentlemen who are in favour of the cultivator, and there are others who are in favour of the landlord. No doubt, if we were to determine now that we would take the part of the landowner or the cultivator, and leave ourselves in the hands of the managing committee, being in favour of one or the other, the managing committee would know which side to take; but as we have no determined action in favour of one or the other, either the landlord or the tenant, I do not see how we can place ourselves entirely in the hands of the committee in respect to matters of such importance. There are many questions, besides, in which members would be nearly divided, and altogether I do not see how we can let the managing committee think for us. It is true that all questions must be carried by a majority of voices, but the minority should have an opportunity of expressing their opinion on the subject; and whatever the result might be, their opinion ought to be recorded, so that when their conduct came to be questioned either by the public here or in India, it would be seen that, though they were overpowered by numbers, they tried to do their best, and were desirous of promoting the cause they had in view. One of the objects which I stated as amongst those contained in the prospectus is this—"To strive to form public opinion." This 8th Rule says that four of the managing committee shall form a quorum. Now, I want to know, if those four should take upon themselves the advocacy of any cause, what sort of public opinion it would be? Public opinion we want in this country upon all foreign and colonial matters generally. We ask for as much information and assistance in this respect as possible; but, instead of doing that, we are, as it appears to me, to be simply members of the Association, members as far as the funds are concerned, and that the managing committee, by every legitimate means in their power, are to form public opinion upon all matters brought before the Association. As public opinion, what would it be worth? If those four gentlemen were editors of influential journals, such as the *Times*, the *Daily News*, and so on, we might rely upon having some sort of public opinion formed, but I contend that leaving important matters to the determination of the committee would not be eliciting public opinion at all. Supposing I find it to be necessary to take up some particular cause, I could not leave it to the determination solely of the managing committee. I do not mean to say that the four members of the committee

would be biassed by considerations on one side or the other, or by motives of pecuniary gain to themselves, and I am sure you will all agree with me in thinking that, whatever they undertook to do, they will do it to the best of their ability, and for the welfare of the Association ; but their opinion will be a very poor sample of public opinion if they are left unaided by the other members to take upon themselves the advocacy of particular subjects. We ought not, therefore, to allow the managing committee to have this absolute power, because they might commit all the members to an opinion that would be adverse to their belief. We ought not to give the managing committee in future any power which would be giving them the liberty of advocating and determining all measures that may come before them, of determining absolutely upon matters which we ought to consider and determine ourselves. As far as regards the deputation to the Secretary of State, I have to say a few words. That was done, no doubt, under an imperfect understanding as to the meaning of the words, "entire affairs of the association." With that I have nothing to do ; it is past and gone, and as I hear some good has come out of it, I am glad of it. Still, I think we ought not to allow the committee to work in this way.

The CHAIRMAN—Have you any resolution to lay before the meeting ?

Mr. W. C. BONNERJEE—If your lordship wants a resolution, I shall be very glad to move one.

Mr. DADABHAI NAOROJI.—The question is, whether the committee have acted according to the rules prescribed for them, or not ? Whether the rules are good or not is a different question. Mr. Bonnerjee has given us a very able exposition of his own views of the injury that would be done to the Association by the action of certain rules, but the question simply is, not whether the rules are good or bad, but whether the committee have acted in accordance with them or not.

Mr. BONNERJEE—I beg pardon, but I think there is a paragraph in the report which says the conduct of the committee will be upheld, and that such and such powers will be given to them. If your lordship will read that part of the report, we shall understand better what we are talking about.

Captain BARBER then read the paragraph, as follows :—

"The managing committee, however, feel that if questions affecting India, and involving matters of local importance—such as that referred to—are not to be dealt with by the Association until the members generally

have discussed the same, the influence of the Association will not only be very materially lessened, but its existence even endangered ; and they have every confidence that the course they have adopted will not only be upheld by this meeting, but that they will be authorized to deal in future with questions affecting India, or any question affecting the inhabitants thereof, in a similar manner."

The CHAIRMAN—Mr. Bonnerjee's meaning no doubt is, that he wishes to explain that he does not agree to that. He is under the impression evidently that, if the report is carried by the meeting, there will be no change hereafter.

Mr. W. C. BONNERJEE—Oh, no ; I beg to say that the last part of the report ought to be thrown out altogether.

Mr. Low—You had better move that the report be adopted, to the exclusion of those words.

Mr. W. C. BONNERJEE—I move, then, that the last words of that paragraph ought to be expunged from the report before it is adopted.

Mr. MEHERWANJI H. MEHTA—I think that the Managing Committee are not deputed to think for the Association. They are authorized, no doubt, and have means given them, to carry into execution the objects of the Association, but, beyond that, the rules do not authorize any further assumption of their functions. The 8th Rule says, "the entire affairs of the Association managed." Now, I venture to think that the word "managed" explains their duties. They are to manage, and not to think. To determine whether a cause is good or bad is entirely beyond their functions, and I think, in spite of the recommendation contained in the report of the committee, if there is any such power given to them, that power is circumscribed. Keeping out of sight the fact that the deputation had gone, and granted that it may have done some good, I think the thing as a precedent is very bad indeed. No doubt the committee were actuated by the best motives for the interest of India, and may have considered the matter impartially, but for the future it would be a dangerous precedent for them to assume such powers as are admitted to be made out in the report. I will second the amendment.

General NORTH—As the chairman of the managing committee, I wish to point out to the meeting what appears to be forgotten. The mover and seconder of the amendment appear to me to have entirely overlooked, in the observations they have applied towards the managing committee, the wording of Rule 7. I will read it to you. "Special sub-committees of

members selected on account of their knowledge of the subjects under reference, of whom three shall form a quorum, shall be appointed at the annual meeting, to take into consideration all matters referring to the Association, by the local committees and individuals." At the time at which these rules were framed, it was considered impossible that, if the Association grew to any size, and of sufficient advantage to render it a permanent institution, it would be impossible for the whole of the members to be consulted on every matter that came before it. The majority of the members would be natives of India, who probably would never visit this country, and they would include cultivators and all classes and grades, besides Europeans who were resident there. How, then, could the Association possibly be placed in possession of their business views on matters that might be brought before the Association in this country? Practically—I hope Mr. Bonnerjee will pardon the expression—the thing is an absurdity, and would not work. The object was that men of experience should be selected to sift these questions: therefore they came to the managing committee. It was particularly stated at the meeting at which these rules were formed, that matters adjusted by the sub-committees would then be referred to the managing committee, who would take action upon them. This very question which has raised this discussion was laid before the military sub-committee of the Association, by them it was adjusted, and referred back to the committee, with a suggestion that a deputation should wait upon Sir Stafford Northcote. In an institution like this, matters must be dealt with as they come before us. These rules are not, in our opinion, at variance with the prospectus issued before the Association was formed. The prospectus gave general objects and rules, and those rules were subject to alteration and modification at every general meeting, according as that alteration or modification may be found to be necessary; and the managing committee will be very glad if Mr. Bonnerjee or any other of the members will point out his opinion on any subject that may come before the Association in any way.

Mr. Low—I rise to support the report of the committee, and with reference to what has fallen from the gentleman who proposed the amendment, I may state that he alleges that this point has never been heard of before. That, to my certain knowledge, is a mistake, because he and I have travelled over precisely the same ground. When these rules were adopted, Colonel Sykes was present, and it was then said that matters such as the one they were discussing should be left in the

hands of the managing committee, and that it was perfectly in our power if we chose to turn them out of office. No doubt it was the duty of the managing committee to look up all measures of public importance, and to bring them before the Association to take action upon them, but there are certain other matters, and matters of necessity, which came before the committee, and by them are carried out. To use a similitude, their functions are something like those of the Home Secretary when he has to reprieve a man. The Secretary has certain duties to carry out which it would not do to trouble the whole Government with. When the rules were drawn out, it was intended that, upon all matters of great public importance, the Association should have papers read to them at their meetings, which papers would be discussed, and thus the opinion of the general body was supposed to be taken, and it was hoped that it would have the same effect upon the opinion of the public at large. Will any one say that this question which came before us, an alleged want of faith on the part of the Government towards retired officers of the Indian service, was a matter to be discussed in an assembly like the present? Matters touching the local interests of India might be referred, but not all questions. When the rules were framed, it was clearly left to the committee. There was not only the managing committee, but sub-committees, and it was thought that, by leaving questions to them, the Association would be able to get a fair reflex of opinion. Reports were first referred to the sub-committees, and then brought to the managing committee by the chairman, and then action was taken upon them. I should not disagree with Mr. Bonnerjee, if the questions that came before the committee were questions affecting the interests of India generally,—for instance, the question of licensing, as to whether it should be upheld or rejected. That is a question upon which I should say they ought to have a general meeting of the association for the purpose of discussing it. There are other questions probably for the weal or woe of India, to which there would not be time to call a meeting of the Association for the purpose of taking its opinion. We are a young institution as yet, and we do not know what the future will be; but if it was to become a debating society, I may say that, having joined it, I have made a mistake. It is of great importance that papers should be read and discussions arise on matters affecting India, and on which Government has taken action. Such matters are referred to the managing committee, and if it is a question of finance, it goes to the finance com-

mittee, who look at all the *pros* and *cons*, and they adopt such measures with reference to them as they may think fit. The question that has given rise to this discussion is one respecting which there is very little time to take action, and the first efforts, I am glad to say, of the Association to do any good were extremely successful. There is a clause which provides that any ten members of the Association may call a general meeting of the body to discuss any subject which it may be thought proper to discuss, and on which the opinion of the Association is desirable. If the managing committee are to do nothing else than to receive subscriptions and pay them in, and take the offers of gentlemen who will read papers, it strikes me that the Association will do very little towards the affairs of India; and, again, if we were to meet and discuss every question narrowly, it might end in a very small majority, and then we should be doing but very little good. If the Association is to take part in questions affecting a small body, then I contend you must give the power to the managing committee. It is a power given to all committees of like associations. Take for instance the Geographical Society. Was it for one moment doubted that the committee were not to exercise their functions to find out what has become of Livingstone, until the Association had determined whether they should do so or not? They went to the Home Office and asked for a deputation, and what they have done became them. I cannot agree with the mover of the amendment when he says that such a power has never been heard of before, for it is provided for in the prospectus. There we are not only to obtain opinion, but to take action, upon measures brought before us; we are to advocate all the interests of India; but if we are only to advocate them by speaking in this room, we shall do but little good. I most heartily concur in the report of the committee, and I may say that if we carry any amendment that will lead to any alteration in our articles in reference to this matter, we shall be stultifying ourselves in regard to the report.

Mr. P. P. GORDON.—I have a few words to say, and I confess it has been with very great pain that I have listened to the remarks made by the mover and seconder of the amendment. I think it strikes at the very root of the Association, for the only possible way in which this Association can act for the good of India is in its being a representative Association. I believe that when the time comes that India itself can be represented, it will be a bright day in its history. I have heard with the

deepest regret the remarks which have been made by two gentlemen, both of whom I believe to be Indian gentlemen. It shows that the Indian mind is not thoroughly open to representation, at least, if those gentlemen represent the feelings of their countrymen, which I would fain hope is not the case. Their suggestions, if carried out, would be utterly impracticable. I cannot exactly follow the gentleman in his remarks with regard to the Reform League, because I am not thoroughly aware of the rules which regulate it; but taking our own Houses of Parliament, these are so constituted as to represent the people, and to carry out whatever measures they may consider to be desirable for the benefit of the country at large. If the gentlemen of India subscribed to its funds and became members of the Association, they must attend or appoint gentlemen to represent their views, and who would act as a central or managing committee. How is it possible for them to carry out practically their views, if, before they could take any steps, a general meeting of the members was to be called? And under any circumstances it would be but a very small number of the members that could be called together in this country; the large number would be in India. I think but very little consideration will satisfy you that it is impossible to carry out the views of the general body unless we are to be representative, and I hope the gentleman who has moved the amendment will see the propriety of withdrawing it. I think it very desirable in the present state of matters that we should not divide, at the same time I am willing to go to a division if it is necessary.

Major-General JACOB, C.B.—I wish to say a few words on the subject. There may be a number of doubtful questions on which opinion is very much divided, and which might possibly be satisfactorily adjusted if due means were provided for taking them into consideration in the first instance. To use an Indian phrase, you can stop a rivulet with your hand at the fountain-head, but you may wait until the stream will carry you away, even if you take an elephant to cross it. If we do not have a managing committee to stop the rivulet at its head, we shall have nothing done. If a member wanted to check any partisanship or unfair dealing with a question by the committee, he could, if he chose, get the signatures of ten of the members, and could call a special meeting to discuss the subject. But I cannot bring myself to feel that the committee will do anything that is contrary to the wishes of the members, or the welfare of India generally, and therefore I feel we ought to approve of their report,

and only find fault with them when there is reason for our doing so. I should recommend the gentleman to withdraw his amendment.

MR. DADABHAI NAOROJI—We have another institution exactly like this, from which we can judge—I mean the British India Association—and, if I am rightly informed, they have left the matter to the managing committee. Their meetings are held only once a year, when a report is laid before the members. From the necessity of getting a good working body, they have adopted this plan, and have been so working for years. With regard to this, leaving the entire management to the committee, I may say that the question was fully discussed and agreed to. There is only one meeting provided by the rules, and that is the annual meeting; then the calling of all other meetings for the reading of papers, or discussions on any questions, was left entirely to the discretion of the managing committee. If the rules are wrong, that is a matter that we can discuss afterwards; and if the rule is changed, the managing committee will simply have to give their opinion as to what the effect may be. I do not see how the opinion expressed in the report can be changed by the amendment—I suppose the managing committee have every right to express their opinion in their report, and I do not see how we can alter it. It was decided that in the present infantile state of the Association the entire management of the affairs should be left to the managing committee. It has been said that these were experimental rules—that we were to pick our way cautiously, and so on. The managing committee have had work to meet at present, and if they are to have this kind of interruption, I do not see how they can proceed. I do not think Mr. Bonnerjee can be more interested in the affairs of India than I am. I have seen the working of every member of the committee, and have watched them narrowly, and I have seen that for some time, at least until we are strong enough to discuss matters in a freer way, and with a greater effect, it would be very unwise, as far as I understand it, to trammel the efforts of the committee, and ask them to bring forward on every occasion every subject for the purpose of having it discussed before they took action upon them; but I think, independently of that, the managing committee, as far as I know, are most anxious to have the opinion of the meeting generally, if such opinion can be obtained without delay. But if they are to be called to account when they have to consult the interests of millions of men, they will have a serious responsibility cast upon them, and under such circumstances it would be to their interest to consult the Asso-

ciation as far as they possibly could. But when questions arise which, if not taken by the forelock, may lead to mischief, I cannot see why the managing committee are not to have the power in question deputed to them. In this instance, the Governor-General's despatch arrived in April; there was very little time, and the answer was to be sent on the 2d of May; and the result was, that Captain Barber, to whose exertions we are at all times much indebted, felt that the Association would be obliged to take immediate action in the matter, in order that the Association might express its opinion to the Secretary of State for India before he sent off his despatch, and the consequence was, that the Secretary decided that the deputation should meet on the 2nd of May. The despatch was to be sent, and there was no time, however willing they might have been, to consult the Association, because the time would have gone by. If the committee were not to take upon themselves the responsibility of acting then and there, and were bound to have consulted the Association, the despatch would have been sent, and so their opinion would have been worth nothing.

Mr. W. C. BONNERJEE—I wish to reply to the observations that have been made, in as few words as possible. With regard to what Mr. Gordon has said as not understanding the system of representation, I may say that the conduct pursued by the committee is not representative at all. It is representative in the sense in which a member of Parliament represents his constituency. When a member is returned, he is almost obliged to take one public view on any one question. ("No.") Well, if it is not so in theory it is in practice. Every one who has watched the debates in the House will, I think, bear me out in saying that, whatever it may be in theory, in practice members of Parliament are always bound to support one line of policy; if not, they have stiff accounts to render to their constituents.

The CHAIRMAN—Please to keep to the question.

Mr. W. C. BONNERJEE—As far as the observations of General North go, that we should not be able to get all the members of the Association here together, I believe that to be untenable, because it is provided by one of our rules that at the annual meeting of the Association ten members shall form a quorum—at least we say that there shall be ten members to form a quorum. Now, if gentlemen, knowing our rules, become members of the Association, they cannot object to our discussing any question we like when there are ten members present to attend to us; therefore, that

objection, that we should not have sufficient members here, falls entirely to the ground. Now, with reference to what fell from Mr. Low, as to having discussed this question, I should like to know where it was, and where it is reported? There was no discussion on this point—we only considered the question raised that certain discretion ought to be left in the hands of the managing committee, and that we ought not to curtail their power in this respect. Now, an absolute discretion of deciding upon matters which ought to be discussed by the Association generally is a thing quite inconceivable to me. I think when the committee are nothing but an executive, an absolute discretion is what we ought all to object to. No doubt there are questions which require immediate attention, and if any action is necessary it ought to be entrusted to the managing committee, but still they ought to come before us, and get an act of indemnity, and say, as it were, "There is a question that presses very much upon us; we could not ask the opinion of the Association—we were obliged to act according to our views, and we come before you to explain our conduct." I think such a thing ought to be done, as far as regards the well-being of this Association. Of course, I do not allude to any member of the managing committee, however zealous he may be in seeing that the Association may prosper and be the means of doing incalculable good to India. I should like to take every question fairly; and whether it was for the benefit of my own countrymen, or for Europeans, I would get at the truth, whichever side it might be. The truth I would get hold of, and I would not care whether it was for the interest of my country or not; therefore, I think in this matter we have no antagonistic views to consider—we have simply to consider whether we shall leave the power of determining absolutely on matters relating to India in the hands of the committee, or whether we shall reserve the right of expressing our opinion on those important matters which may come before us.

The CHAIRMAN—I will now put it to the meeting whether the amendment shall be carried or not.

The amendment was then put to the meeting, and was negatived, three members only voting in favour of it.

The report was then adopted in its entirety.

Mr. ELLIOT—My lord and gentlemen, owing to the very lengthy manner in which this discussion has taken place, I will try and condense this matter of which I have given notice as much as I possibly can. It will be in the recollection of many gentlemen here present, that on a

former occasion I alluded to the benefits which would arise to this Association by its extension to other colonies than India. The reasons for that proposition were manifest. The wants of other colonies were equal to, if not in excess of, those which had been experienced in India of such an Association. There appears, however, to be such a difference of opinion as to whether it would be to the interest of this Association to extend its influence to the colonies in its present infantile condition, that I have great doubt of my proposition being adopted. The very last thing that I should wish to do, whatever might be the opinion of others on this question of extension, would be to do anything that would be likely to give rise to a want of harmony amongst its members, so as to lead to a difference of opinion amongst them ; and therefore, if I find that such a proposition is likely to be regarded by any considerable portion of the members with suspicion or mistrust, or opposition of any kind, I will withdraw it. Since the last meeting took place, I have been informed by those who are more able to give an opinion than myself, that there exists a very strong feeling that such a proposition as the one of which I had given notice would be premature. In some respects there can be no doubt that we should receive immediate advantages from such a proposition being adopted, because we are in want of funds and popular support and sympathy, and no doubt we should very much strengthen our hands in all respects by extending the benefits of our Association to the colonies ; but still I admit there may be some advantage in acting cautiously, and leaving it to a future day to carry out the object we have in view, if the Association, which is now in its infancy, should be found to work well. I would, however, modify my proposition, and I will propose, more as an experiment than as anything else, if it should meet with the approval of the meeting, that the advantages of this Association should be extended to other colonies bordering on the Indian Ocean, from the Cape to China inclusive ; that is, upon the committee receiving satisfactory proof and assurance that each of such colonies so admitted to the advantages of this Association will be in itself—viz. in the funds which it may contribute to the Association—self-supporting. Now, gentlemen, a few words may be necessary to explain why I would limit the operation of my motion to those colonies. In the first place, it has already been urged that China is so intimately connected with our Indian empire by its commercial relations as necessarily to form a part of the objects of this Association, and there are other colonies in proximity to India which are really associated with India in more respects than one.

There are several in which a great and crying demand exists for coolie emigrants. I think it is hardly to be expected that this Association should extend its watchful care over all Indian subjects, all those who may be removed from India to another country; but perhaps there are no interests in India that require more supervision and attention than those belonging to the emigrant coolies. It is true that the Government of those colonies in which they have been admitted have passed wise laws for their protection, but we all know that there is a great deal of injustice being done in respect to such a class as these I have alluded to, whose interests are imperilled by a want of that supervision which I now propose to exercise by means of this Association to which we have the honour to belong, and which, I think, will be fully met if you take my proposal with the limitation I propose to attach to it—namely, that the committee be empowered to extend the advantages of the Association to the Cape, Mauritius, Natal, Borneo, and China, those bordering on the Indian Ocean. Very large numbers of coolies have been imported there in a constant traffic going on between the colonies, and if you extend the advantage of the Association to each of those colonies, you will afford satisfactory proof that the members of the Association are alive to their interests, and are ready to give them all the protection and sympathy in their power. If those who join the Association in those colonies cover by their subscriptions all the expenses that may be incurred, I do not see how you can run any risk whatever. Still I will say, that however conscious I may be, if I find any strong opposition to my motion, I will withdraw it.

Mr. W. C. BONNERJEE—Does the gentleman intend to call the Association the East India Association after the colonies are admitted, because upon that might depend a great deal of the opposition that might be brought against it?

Mr. ELLIOT—If it is called simply the East India Association, you could hardly include the colonies. If China was included, the Association should, I think, be called the India and China Association; and if you include South Africa, it would require still further amendment. The East India Association may be for anything in connexion with India, and an East India and Colonial Association would also be an association for Indian objects.

A MEMBER—Would not the operations of the Association become too much extended?

Mr. ELLIOT—It would not be extended to any other colonies than those which this Association might approve of. The object we all have in

view is to have a home of our own, with a department representing us, where all the correspondence which arrives from India should be filed, where information could be obtained, where a library could be formed, and a staff maintained such as is in all similar undertakings found to be necessary to carry out the objects they have in view. I think, therefore, it would be only a fair proposition that each colony should pay for itself. If extended to China, the Association should also be extended to the Mauritius, as well as to Natal. I hold to the principle of extending it universally.

Major SINCLAIR—I beg leave to second the motion.

Mr. DADABHAI NAOROJI—It has been suggested that we should extend our Association to Natal. We were established simply for Indian objects, and it would be an Indian object if we were to watch the condition of those poor coolies, to see that they were properly treated. I do not think I should make it a necessity to alter the title of our Association. It is quite enough of itself to impress every subject in India with the advantages it can give. The natives are satisfied with it on that ground, and therefore there will be no necessity, I think, for putting in the word "colonial," inasmuch as it would mislead very much the Indian public. When the first meeting was here, and the proposition was made, I was exceedingly doubtful which side to take. The question was adjourned, and since then I have communicated with my Indian friends, and I hope the natives of that country will show a sufficient sense of their duty and a sufficient patriotism to lead them to support this Association. I think we have ample grounds for believing that such will be the case, but we must give them sufficient time for consideration, and then, in the words of General North, they will flock in in numbers. I think the first name we adopted will be the best to keep to. The question of the colonies is an Indian question, and China comes in necessarily, because it is intimately connected with India. There are large remittances, and the commercial connexion is great between the two. I think the present name of our Association will comprehend all the objects we have in view. I shall therefore propose that the name, "East India Association," remain as it is.

Mr. ELLIOT—That may be made a separate proposition, and will naturally follow the adoption of the motion.

Captain BARBER—When the name of the Association was first suggested, it was called "The East India and China Association," but on discussion it was held that India embraced China to a certain extent, so that the word China was not necessary at all.

The CHAIRMAN—The only question now is, whether the proposition of Mr. Elliot shall be carried, or not.

Mr. DADABHAI NAOROJI.—I propose that the operations should be extended to China, but that the name of the Association remain as it is.

The CHAIRMAN—That is an amendment. Mr. Elliot has moved that it be left to the managing committee to admit any of the colonies on their paying their own expenses.

Mr. ELLIOT—I can see no real inconvenience that will be likely to result from the name remaining as it is. In future years we may alter it, when we extend the objects we have in view; but, at present, I think it had better be as it is.

Major-General JACOB—I think I should be careful in doing anything that might lead the public mind in India from the belief that the Association is intended for the investigation and examination of Indian matters generally, and for the benefit of those resident in that country. If we do anything that will distract the public mind in India from that faith, it will strike at the very foundation of our Association, and imperil it in the future. The Association is only now beginning to be known in India, but I believe eventually it will soon receive support, pecuniary and otherwise, from every quarter. The letters that I receive from my Indian friends, who are qualified to take their station with any English gentleman, assure me that they look with the greatest doubt upon this question—the question of the colonies. When we are able to feel our strength, then a union with the colonies may take place, but I think that if we attempted it now we should be, as it were, strangling an infant Hercules in its cradle.

Mr. DADABHAI NAOROJI.—If we extend our operations to the colonies bordering on the Indian Ocean, if we take in the whole of them, I do not know that we should have a sufficient number of working members to do it. I do not know whether the managing committee would take in hand such anxious work as the business of the Mauritius, which alone would occupy them. I do not think we ought, therefore, to extend our operations beyond India and China. I have not the slightest objection to take China in as an experiment, and if we succeed with that we may then extend our operations to other places.

The CHAIRMAN then read the amendment, as follows:—

“That the operations of this Association be extended to China, but that the name remain unaltered.”

The amendment was carried.

Mr. Low—I simply have to move a resolution which has been put into my hands, and which forms a portion of the committee's report; and therefore I do not know that it requires any remarks from me. There are now six Vice-Presidents of the Association. It was proposed on the last occasion that the number should be extended to twelve. The committee now suggest that you should leave the power in their hands of inviting any nobleman or gentleman who may have been connected with India to become a Vice-President. I shall therefore simply move that the managing committee be empowered to invite such noblemen and gentlemen whom they may deem proper to become vice-presidents of this Association, and that the word "*six*" be expunged from Rule 6.

Major SINCLAIR—I beg leave to second the motion.

The motion was adopted.

Major-General JACOB—I am an advocate for giving to the committee the utmost power. We really ought to be obliged to them for what they have done.

Lord ERSKINE—I have to move a resolution as follows:—"That the meeting approves of the arrangement at present made for the admission of local societies into association with this institution, and that the managing committee be empowered to make such alterations in the terms as to them from time to time may seem desirable." I think the meeting will come to the conclusion that matters of detail should be left to the committee.

Major-General NORTH—I will second the proposition. I believe the intention is, that on an association paying 50*l.* the chairman shall become a member of this Association, and the Association itself will be considered to belong to us. I understand the chairman of such an association will be its representative for the time being, and as such he will connect his association with our own, and that will be secured by one payment of 50*l.*

Mr. ELLIOT—For instance, such a body as the Peninsular and Oriental Company, who are deeply interested in the objects of this Association, I think they would not fail to take a perpetual membership for the chairman of their Board. The chairman will always be a member of this Association on their paying the 50*l.*

The CHAIRMAN—It was proposed that the chairman of such associations as were admitted should be *ex officio*.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

Colonel HALY—I beg to propose that the name of Mr. Fitzwilliam be added to the general purposes committee.

Major-General NORTH—I second the motion.

The CHAIRMAN—Mr. Fitzwilliam is a gentleman who takes great interest in the welfare of India. He is the chairman of the Committee of Commerce of Calcutta, and that is one reason why he has been proposed as a member of this Association.

The motion was carried.

The CHAIRMAN—If any gentleman has any alteration to make in the rules, he will please now bring forward his motion.

Mr. BONNERJEE—I have a motion relating to Rule 8, which I shall propose at the next meeting.

Mr. DADABHAI NAOROJI—It will be seen by Rule 15 that no addition to or alteration in the rules can be made, except at the annual meeting of the Association. I want to add the words, “Previous notice to be given in the circular convening the meeting.” I find that it is very inconvenient if the business is not printed in the circular. I beg leave to move to that effect.

Colonel HALY—I second the motion. Carried.

The CHAIRMAN—There is one alteration I should like to make with respect to Rule 13. It will be seen that that rule stands thus:—“At the desire of five members of the general managing committee, or on the written requisition of ten members of the Association, the Secretary shall convene a special meeting of the Association.” Now, what I propose is this; to add, “only during the session of Parliament,” and my reasons are these:—When Parliament is not meeting, there are but few gentlemen in town, and particularly those who head the list of subscribers of this Association; the President, Vice-Presidents, and others will be all out of town, so that if the committee should have a meeting convened to alter any rule, I think it would be hardly right to do so without all the members had an opportunity of attending, and it would be an extremely inconvenient thing for those at a distance to come to town for the purpose merely of attending a small meeting. Now, in many other societies, and in clubs, it is a general rule that no alteration should be made in the rules except the whole body had an opportunity of attending; and therefore I think if we add those words I have proposed it will ensure a larger meeting than otherwise would assemble.

Mr. GORDON—I second the motion.

Mr. DADABHAI NAOROJI—The principal part of our work will be during the parliamentary session. In the vacation there will be scarcely any matters come before the committee for consideration, and ~~how they~~

dealt with them would depend upon their own discretion. I support the resolution.

After a few words from Dr. DUTT as to when the special meetings were,

Captain BARBER said that every meeting except the annual meeting was a special one. The only meeting provided by the rules is the annual meeting. Every other meeting was of course called for a special purpose.

Mr. Low—Supposing the managing committee had by a majority of one carried some matter, then the minority would not have the means of appealing to the general body should they wish to do so, until the session of Parliament, and the result might be disastrous. I rather think if the words are added it may be found to act prejudicially, and I would much prefer to leave it as it is.

Major-General JACOB—No doubt there are evils both ways. There might be a glaring case of emergency. Some report might be required, and no means for calling the members together.

The CHAIRMAN—I will withdraw my proposition. Another proposition I have here is with regard to Rule 9, "Local committees shall be appointed in India by the general managing committee ; and the co-operation of independent local associations in India is invited by the East India Association." Now those local committees, according to that rule, are to be appointed by the general managing committee in England, and I do not see why that should be so. I think those in India will be the best judges of the fitness of gentlemen to form those local committees. I therefore propose to add the words, instead of "by the managing committee," "subject to the approval of the general managing committee."

Major-General NORTH—That is a resolution of very great importance.

The CHAIRMAN—My object is to put it in the power of the subscribers in India to nominate their own committees there, and that the general managing committee shall have the power of vetoing such appointment if they think proper to do so.

A MEMBER—Will the committees be appointed in each town or province ?

Mr. LOW—Wherever the subscribers might think fit, or where it was found to be necessary.

Mr. GORDON—I beg leave to second the motion, and I think it is clear that it will be unanimously passed.

The motion was carried unanimously.

The CHAIRMAN—There is another proposition that I have to bring before the meeting. We have been very fortunate in securing as secretary a gentleman well acquainted with India, a very active and intelligent gentleman, who has come forward voluntarily and given his services for the benefit of the Association. He attends here every day, and I believe it is his intention to continue to do so; but he receives no salary. Now we could hardly fix a salary according to our present funds. They are very small indeed, and I propose that until the funds of the society are in a condition to admit of our giving a fixed salary, the managing committee should be at liberty to offer Captain Barber such donations from time to time as in their opinion the funds will admit of, such donations not to exceed 200*l.* before the next annual meeting takes place. Captain Barber's duties are very onerous indeed, and I am sure the sum that I have named is a great deal too small, but I think we are not in a condition to offer Captain Barber much more at present, and I think the committee should have it in their power to give as much as they can.

Colonel HALY—I will cordially second the motion.

Major-General NORTH—I rise to oppose the motion, and for this reason. I know very well that in the whole of England perhaps you could not have found a secretary who would have done so much towards making the formation of this Association a success, but I object to the motion on two grounds: first, that the sum named is totally inadequate; and secondly, because it is a question entirely for the managing committee to decide and deal with. I am averse to any sum of money being named as a precedent, and I should be very sorry to see Captain Barber's salary fixed at 200*l.* per annum, when we might be able to give him 500*l.* 600*l.* or even 1,000*l.* It is a question entirely for the managing committee to deal with. After all the current expenses are paid this year, I would give Captain Barber the balance.

Captain BARBER—My lords and gentlemen, what you propose to do has quite taken me by surprise, because I had no idea whatever that anything regarding me would be brought forward. What I have done for the Association so far has been simply a work of love. I have, as you know, taken a great interest in the welfare of India for some years past, and was secretary to the Indian Army Committee; and as I had a great deal to do with India necessarily in consequence of that appointment, it was suggested that to General North and myself should be deputed the starting of this Association. But when we started it we had no idea of remuneration whatever; our posts were thought to be honorary, and we

thought we might have a clerk to do the work, and that we should come down daily to the office, and see how things were getting on. There certainly has been a great deal more work than I anticipated, but I would prefer waiting until the Association is in a more prosperous condition before any regular salary is fixed upon.

The CHAIRMAN—My proposition is only a temporary measure. I suggested that until the time came when an adequate salary could be given to Captain Barber for his valuable services. I hope that at the end of the year we shall have 1,000*l.* in hand, but I would not give it all to Captain Barber.

Mr. DADABHAI NAOROJI—I hope the Association will have more.

Mr. GORDON—It rests with the committee, who have full power of disposing of such matters as this; but I think it would be well to have an expression from this meeting that Captain Barber, as our secretary, richly deserves to be remunerated.

Mr. BONNERJEE—I am sure that Captain Barber richly deserves a handsome donation.

General JACOB—My deplorable health has prevented me from taking such active steps in favour of the Association as I otherwise would have done; but from all I see and hear from General North and other gentlemen, Captain Barber deserves the gratitude of all friends to India. I have no doubt we shall all agree to remunerate him handsomely when the time comes.

The CHAIRMAN—I should be willing to withdraw my proposition for the committee to have the power, only I do not go quite so far as General North. I propose to amend the resolution in this way:—"That until the funds of the society are in a condition to admit of a fixed adequate salary being given to the secretary, the managing committee be at liberty from time to time to offer such donations to the present secretary as in their opinion the funds will admit."

Seconded by Mr. GORDON, and carried unanimously.

General JACOB—I move a vote of thanks to the chairman. I am sure we are much indebted to his lordship and those gentlemen who have engagements and amusements elsewhere for giving us their presence at our meetings, and I beg to thank them accordingly.

Colonel HALY—I second the motion.

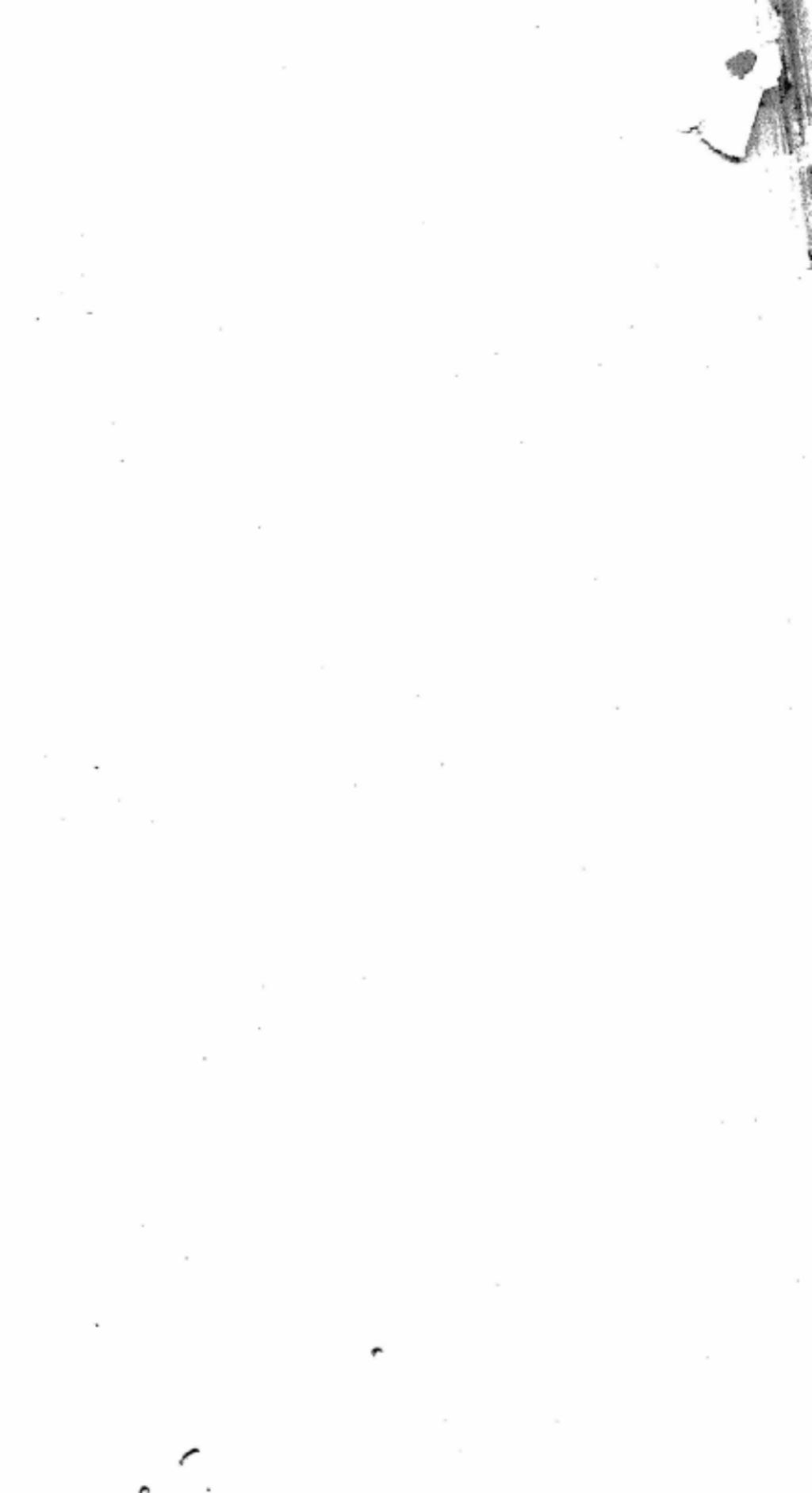
The CHAIRMAN—I return my sincere thanks for the kindness you have shown me.

The meeting then separated.

JOURNAL
OF THE
EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION.

No. 2.

September, 1867.



INTRODUCTION.

IN publishing No. 2 of Vol. I. of the "Journal of the East India Association," the Managing Committee earnestly request Members to support a publication, the wide circulation of which must prove of great service to Indian interests.

No. 1 of Vol. II. will be published next February. The session will commence in November, and papers will be read at intervals of ten days or a fortnight during its continuance until August.

A list of papers proposed to be read before Easter will be published about October. Members desirous of reading Papers are requested to communicate with the Secretary as early as possible.

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RULES
OF
THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION
FOR PROMOTING INDIAN INTERESTS.

1. *Name*.—The Association shall be called “The East India Association,” to be supported by Annual Subscriptions and Voluntary Donations.

2. *Objects and Organization*.—The Association shall be for the independent and disinterested advocacy and promotion by all legitimate means of the interests and welfare of India generally. As an *Institution* the Association will, so soon as the funds permit, provide a Library and Reading Room, and will always afford Members of Parliament, and the Public generally, information and assistance on all Indian subjects within its power. As a *Body*, it will receive communications, direct or through its Local Committees, on all those questions of local or public interest which there are at present no adequate means of bringing to the notice of the Public or Legislature.

3. The Association shall not take any notice of complaints of individuals against the Governments in India or their Civil and Military Servants; unless a question of public importance be involved therein; nor will it undertake to act in any matters that can be decided by Law Courts, or by Appeal to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council.

4. *Members*.—The Association shall consist of *Resident* and *Non-Resident* Members. Those residing in the United Kingdom shall be called *Resident*, and all others *Non-Resident* Members.

5. *Annual Meeting.*—There shall be an Annual Meeting of the Association, to be held during the Session of Parliament, Ten Members to form a Quorum of all Meetings of the Association.

6. *President and Vice-Presidents.*—A President and Vice-Presidents of the Association shall be elected at the Annual General Meeting, and the Managing Committee shall be empowered to offer this Honorary distinction to such influential noblemen and gentlemen as they may deem fit.

7. *Sub-Committees and Local Committees.*—Special Sub-Committees of Members, selected on account of their knowledge of the subjects under reference, of whom Three shall form a quorum, shall be appointed at the Annual Meeting, to take into consideration all matters referred to the Association by the Local Committees and individuals.

8. *The Managing Committee.*—At the Annual Meeting a General Managing Committee shall be appointed, of whom Four shall form a quorum, composed of a Chairman, Six Members, and the Chairman of each of the Special Committees, by whom a Secretary and Treasurer shall be appointed, and the entire affairs of the Association managed.

9. *Local Committees.*—Local Committees shall be appointed in India by Local Subscribers, subject to the approval of the General Managing Committee; and the co-operation of independent Local Associations in India is invited by the "East India Association."

10. *Election.*—After the 1st January, 1867, any person desirous of becoming a Member of the Association shall be proposed and seconded, and after Election by the Managing Committee shall be required to pay an Annual Subscription, in advance, on the 1st of January in each year, of One Sovereign or Ten Rupees. The payment of Ten Sovereigns or One hundred Rupees in lieu of Annual Subscription, shall constitute Life-Membership.

11. The Election of every Member shall be notified to him in writing by the Secretary, who shall transmit to him, at the same time, a copy of the Rules of the Association.

12. Subscriptions unpaid on the 1st May in each year involve cessation of Membership, subject to appeal to the General Managing Committee.

13. *Special Meetings.*—At the desire of Five Members of the General Managing Committee, or on the written requisition of Ten Members of the Association, the Secretary shall convene a Special Meeting of the Association.

14. *Bye-Laws.*—The General Managing Committee shall have power to make and alter any bye-laws for the management of the Association.

15. *Alteration of Rules.*—No addition to or alteration in these Rules shall be made, except at the Annual Meeting of the Association, previous notice being given in the Circular convening the Meeting.

SUBSCRIPTIONS and DONATIONS can be paid to the LONDON and WESTMINSTER BANK, St. James's Square, London; Messrs. GRINDLAY and Co., 55, Parliament Street, S. W.; Messrs. SMITH, ELDER, and Co., 45, Pall Mall, S. W.; and their Agents in India; or to MR. ARDESEER FRAMJEE Moos, BOMBAY. Crossed Cheques can be sent to the SECRETARY, by whom formal receipts will be returned. Post Office Orders to be payable at the Parliament Street Post Office.

Gentlemen wishing to become Members of the Association are requested to communicate with the SECRETARY, at the Offices of the Association, 55, Parliament Street, S. W., where a Reading Room is now open for the use of Members.



EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION.

EVENING MEETING, FRIDAY, JULY 5, 1867.

SIR JAMES FERGUSSON, BART, M.P., IN THE CHAIR.

The CHAIRMAN in opening the proceedings said : I have very great pleasure in presiding on this occasion : in the first place, because I am interested in the success of the Association ; and secondly, because the subject which is to form the topic of the evening is one which, although it may be said to be settled just now, must always be a living subject, inasmuch as it, or questions similar to it, must arise frequently in the history of the government of India. I am sure we shall all derive great advantage from hearing the views of one so learned, and so competent to deal with the question as Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji ; and being much newer to Indian subjects than all of you who are to be addressed, I shall myself derive more benefit than you from the address. I am sorry to have to announce that Lord William Hay is unavoidably prevented from being present, not because he was not ready with the paper which he was to have read, but on account of very pressing engagements. He is much disappointed at not being able to read that paper, which he hopes to give on a future occasion ; so that we shall have the advantage of hearing both him and Mr. Naoroji.

Mr. NAOROJI then read the following paper :—

mysore.

I trust the meeting will make some allowance for the imperfections of this paper, hurriedly prepared within two days ; and by their own temperate, disinterested, and judicious discussion, make up its deficiencies.

It is discovered by Lord W. Hay that Lord Wellesley drew his pen through the words "heirs and successors," and it is therefore argued that

Lord Wellesley therefore intended the subsidiary treaty to be only a personal one. The question then naturally arises, whether any alterations made in drafts can affect the actual compact ultimately agreed upon? Next, had Lord Wellesley any right to depart from the stipulations of the partition treaty, which is the sole authority for the subsidiary treaty? The very draft of the subsidiary treaty goes to show that the drawer of the treaty naturally felt that the subsidiary treaty was to be an hereditary treaty. If we accept the argument now based upon the new discovery in the British Museum, we are driven to the necessity of casting a reflection upon the character of Lord Wellesley. For leaving aside, for the present, the consideration and proper interpretation of the words "unnecessary and dangerous," this discovery, as it is proposed to be interpreted, would mean that a British statesman, knowingly and intentionally, just left *in* words enough to lull any suspicion, and left *out* words enough for some private ulterior motives. Here are the words left *in*: "A treaty of *perpetual*¹ friendship and alliance"—and, "as long as the sun and moon shall endure;" just sufficient to lull any suspicion, and yet, behind the back of the other contracting party, "heirs" and such words are omitted, in order that when the opportunity came, advantage might be taken of the omission. I sincerely trust that the present English statesmen are not going to hold out this as an edifying and statesmanlike course of conduct to be learnt by the natives from their enlightened English teachers. No, I do hope that a more reasonable and satisfactory explanation may be given of the discovery which Lord William Hay has brought to light. I shall revert to this point again, further on. It is urged that the words "as long as the sun and moon shall endure" are only conventional terms; and in support of this the following sentence is quoted from Sir T. Munroe:—The terms employed in such documents, 'for ever,' 'from generation to generation,' or in Hindu grants, 'while the sun and moon endure,' are mere forms of expression, and are never supposed, either by the donor or the receiver, to convey the durability which they imply, or any beyond the will of the Sovereign." On what authority or grounds this proposition is laid down I cannot say. If it means anything, it means that there are no such documents as were really intended to mean perpetuity by the donor and receiver. According to this proposition the British Government can make one clean swoop of all property possessed under any grants what-

¹ The italics in all the extracts are mine.

ever ; for even the words "generation to generation," and "for ever," are not safe from its grasp. Then again, were there ever perpetual grants made or not under the former rulers? and how could they ever be considered so, if words like "for ever" and "from generation to generation" were meaningless? It is true that high-flown compliments, raising one to the seventh heaven, or becoming one's most humble servant or slave, are mere forms, but to say that words expressing the duration of an engagement mean nothing, is more than I ever knew among the natives. I wonder how such duration can or was ever expressed, if not by the words "during life," or "for ever," or "from generation to generation," &c. To me it appears that it is not correct to assume that both the receiver and the donor did not understand the words to mean what they said, but that the Hindu sovereign, being in the very nature of his position a despotic sovereign whose will *was* law, and *above* law, and at whose mercy lay, not only any grants, but even any property whatever of his subjects as well as their lives, did sometimes confiscate by his will such grants, though originally intended to be perpetual. Such arbitrary exercise of power could not, however, make the contract the less binding, but there was no power above that of the will of the sovereign to compel him to abide by his contract ; it was simply the power of might over right. But this treaty is not of a Hindu sovereign. It is drafted and made by Englishmen for an English sovereign. Is the English sovereign the same despotic ruler? Is it right for the Englishmen to boast of their superior political condition, in which the sovereign is no less subordinate to law and bound to good faith than the meanest subject, and yet, for a purpose like this, suddenly to sink down to the level of the despotic Hindu rulers? Whatever may have been the conduct of the Hindu rulers in such matters, certainly the English rulers ought to set a better example, especially in a case when they are parties to the words "as long as the sun and moon shall endure," not only in the Mysore treaty alone, but quite pointedly again in another treaty of 1807, explanatory of the third article of this very subsidiary Mysore treaty : by the words, "these four additional articles, which, *like the original treaty of Mysore*, shall be binding on the contracting parties as long as the sun and moon shall endure."

Such pointed expression of the duration of the treaty of Mysore, coupled with the words, "treaty of *perpetual* friendship and alliance," at the very heading of the treaty itself, must certainly make any English

statesman who has the slightest consideration for the honour of his country's word, pause before trying special pleading. I appeal to you as Englishmen to say whether, had such pleas been put forward by a native ruler, the most indignant denunciations would not have been poured out, not only against himself but against the whole Hindu race? How loud and angry would have been the uproar of the virtuous indignation of the upright Englishmen against the innate depravity and treachery of the Hindu race? And yet it is calmly pleaded by English statesmen, that in their language, in treaties made by themselves, when it suits the occasion, "perpetual" means "temporary;" that the duration of the existence of the sun and moon means only a man's lifetime; and that "treaties" mean "deeds of gift." But, strange to say, as the sun and moon sometimes send a ray through the heaviest cloud, to assure poor mortals of their existence, the sun and moon of this treaty have sent one stray ray through the heaviest cloud. In the despatch of August 31, 1864, from Sir John Lawrence to Sir Charles Wood, it is said:—"By the favour of the British Government, and in the exercise of its sovereign right, acquired by conquest, the Maharaja was raised from a prison to the government of a large principality, *subject to conditions*; which, if fulfilled by him, would have been the safeguard of his authority, and the guarantee of the continuance of a native rule in Mysore." Now, I leave to you, gentlemen, that if this treaty was simply a personal treaty, what is meant by "subject to conditions which, if fulfilled by him, would have guaranteed the continuance of a native rule in Mysore?" Are there, then, certain conditions in the treaty guaranteeing the continuance of a native rule in Mysore? Then what becomes of the personal character of the treaty?

Now, revert to the question, whether Lord Wellesley had a bad intention in drawing his pen through certain words, or whether he meant to do something consistent with a faithful performance of his obligations under "the partition treaty." The only explanation I can at present see of Lord Wellesley's proceedings, is this. There is no doubt in my mind that Lord Wellesley did not mean to act in bad faith; that in allowing the words *perpetual*, and about the sun and moon, to remain, he did mean what he said; but that his object in striking out the word "heir," &c. was to keep such full control over the native principality as to enable the English Government to oust any particular oppressive sovereign, and put some other in his place, or, in cases of disputed succession, that the English may be able to

decide in favour of one or the other without being encountered by the difficulties which the word "heir" might occasion; that the word "unnecessary" in the margin means that as far as permanency of native rule was concerned, the words "perpetual," and "as long as the sun and moon shall endure," are sufficient; and that the word "dangerous" means the strong title which an "heir" may maintain, and thereby lessen the complete English control; and that according to practice a new treaty may be made with every successor, with such modifications as time and circumstances may require. I venture to offer this explanation for your consideration, leaving alone the question whether any departure from "the partition treaty" was justifiable. I cannot, however, persuade myself that a statesman like Lord Wellesley would be guilty of such a mean act as the present discovery of Lord William Hay is made to imply. I do not stand here as the advocate of either the Raja or the English. I wish only for justice and truth, be it on the one side or the other.

Much has been said about Lord Canning not having sent the adoption sunud to the Raja. Was Lord Canning justified in doing so? Did he do so as a punishment for the Raja's past offences? This is not the case, as the Raja was declared deserving of reward for his thorough loyalty. Two reasons are urged: first, it was because Lord Canning knew that the Raja intended to leave his territories to the English. By admitting this position, Lord Canning admitted the power of the Raja to bequeath; but it was subsequently urged that the treaty itself did not entitle him to any such adoption. Now, I ask, do English words mean one thing in one treaty and another thing in another treaty? If not, I request explanation for the following anomaly.

The treaty of 1805, with the Raja of Travancore, is *word for word*, in *all* its important portions bearing upon the present issue, the same with the treaty of Mysore. I give these portions in the Appendix.

Now I trust it is a fair question to ask, why the very same words which in the Travancore treaty entitled the Travancore Raja to the adoption sunud, did not mean the same thing with the Mysore Raja. The parallel, however, does not end here. The Raja of Travancore, like the Raja of Mysore, also incurred the displeasure of the British Government, and the latter were going to assume the internal administration of the country. But the Raja died. Nobody, however, then thought of interpreting the treaty of 1805 as a personal one, and the heir was allowed to succeed. The difference, then, in the cases of the Raja of Mysore and

that of Travancore, seems to be that the latter, by his death, made the treaty of 1805 an hereditary one, and the former, by living longer, has rendered, in some mysterious way, a similar treaty a personal one. It is pressed that Sir Stafford Northcote ought not to have reversed the policy and gone against the opinion of three governor-generals and two secretaries of state. Sir Stafford can well be left to hold his own. He needs no defence at my poor hands. But I ask, is it because the others were right that Sir Stafford should not have reversed their acts, or is it meant that even if they were wrong Sir Stafford should have abided by their decision? I know full well what English prestige means in India. In fact, it is the settled opinion of the natives for the English high character that is your principal charm and spell over them. When once that is broken, half your strength is gone. But it is not by special pleadings, or persisting in a wrong course, that the prestige will be increased. Howsoever vehemently or authoritatively may assertious be made of honest decisions, the natives can think for themselves, and can know where there is real honesty and where there is sham. If Sir Stafford has subverted the decision of fifty governor-generals and as many secretaries, if he has but done what is right, he will have increased your prestige far more than any amount of persistence in a wrong course. I trust the objectors on the ground of authority do not mean to contribute a wasp of an idea to Mr. Buxton's collection, that "the perpetration of a wrong is a justification for persisting in it." If the objectors mean that the former decision was right and Sir Stafford is wrong on merits, then let them discuss on merits only instead of holding up the bugbear of high and many authorities.

Again, it must be remembered, that we look for authorities when the subject is exclusively a study for few students, when the materials for ordinary judgment are not sufficiently accessible, and when therefore decisions for action can only be based on authority, the number and positions of authorities are matters of importance; but as in the present case, when the materials are at the command of all who choose to see them, when Sir Stafford Northcote is exactly in the same position as any other individual, to judge for himself, how could mere priority of time give to the others an infallibility? On the contrary, Sir Stafford ought to be, if he make a right use of his opportunities, under a proper sense of responsibility, in a better position to decide rightly, having the views and arguments of his predecessors before him.

There is again the argument of the good of the people of Mysore. I hope I am not dead to a desire for the welfare of any people, and more especially of my own countrymen. The picture of an Englishman holding off the savage ruler from his victim is no doubt a very pretty and gratifying one, but unfortunately there is a little want of truth in it, and a little daub in it. First of all, the Raja repeatedly offered to allow such arrangements for the welfare of the people as would be satisfactory to the British, and so there is no savage king tearing up his victim. But then, is not in that case the Raja a mere puppet? How strangely does this exclamation come from persons who pride in their sovereign being not a despot, but subject to law and order, and guided by wise and able ministers. What constitutional sovereign is not a puppet, if to govern under fixed and well-regulated administration be to be a puppet? Besides, it is a strange reflection upon the British Government that with their control and influence they do not bring up the native princes in the way they should go. Besides there being some untruth in the picture, there is this daub. In the corner of the picture the natives of Shorapore and the assigned districts restored to the Nizam stand surprised at this turn of philanthropy. Now is it possible for the native to increase his esteem and believe in your sincerity with such inconsistent conduct before them, notwithstanding the most vehement assertions of your desire for the good of the Mysoreans?

To destroy the native rule in Mysore it is pressed that as Englishmen have settled there, it ought to be taken into English possession. This I suppose is an invention of the nineteenth century. What a fine prospect this opens up of conquering the whole world without much trouble. Some Englishmen have only to go and settle in a country, and then the English Government has simply to say, "You see English people cannot be managed by you, therefore you should give up the country to us;" and there is a conquest! But, unfortunately for the inventor, those stupid fellows the French, and other continentals, the Americans and such others, won't see it.

Then again, is this an encouragement to the other native Rajas to allow Englishmen to settle in their country, and derive the benefits of the contact of English enterprise and knowledge? If they take such a step the result is loss of rule, on the plea that Englishmen cannot be managed by natives. If they do not, then they are blamed for being apathetic, and indifferent to the best interests of their dominions and people.

The important question constantly arises, Who is to judge when the British Government and a native prince are at issue? How can the decision of the stronger party in its own favour be free from the suspicion of being interested? Cannot, when such important questions of the rights of Government arise, an important judicial commission of some of the best judges of this country be appointed to try the matter? I should think that, considering the confidence the natives of India have in the integrity, uprightness, and independence of English high judges, the natives would feel satisfied to have such issues tried by such impartial tribunals: otherwise the native, like anybody else, naturally thinks when the decision is against him, that injustice is done to him; and it is only when the justice of the decision is so clear as to be *entirely* above suspicion, that the British Government does not run the risk of being considered as having taken advantage of their might against right.

I have not here entered upon the general question of adoption, as in the present case; the reason urged is that the Raja is by the treaty itself not entitled to leave his territories even to his own son, any more than to his adopted son. Nor do I here enter into a discussion of the general question of annexation, nor into that of the rights of the Nizam, as the present decision of the Secretary of State renders this discussion unnecessary.

I would not take up much of your time upon the subject of the relative position of the Nizam and the British power at the time the subsidiary treaty was made, and the real source of that treaty. I shall simply quote a few sentences from two or three treaties, leaving you to draw your own inferences. In the treaty of 1790, between the English, the Nizam, and the Maharatras, Article 6 says—

“The three contracting powers having agreed to enter into the present war, should their arms be crowned with success in the *joint* prosecution of it, an *equal* division shall be made of the acquisition of territory.”

In the treaty with the Nizam of 1798, in the preamble it is said—“And the present juncture of affairs, and the recent hostile conduct and evil designs of Tippoo Sultan, so fully evinced by his sending ambassadors to the Isle of France, by his proposing to enter into a treaty, offensive and defensive, with the French republic against the English nation, and by actually receiving a body of French troops into his dominions and immediate pay, rendering *it indispensably necessary* that effectual measures for the *mutual* defence of their respective possessions should be immediately

taken by the three allied powers united in a defensive league against the aforesaid Tippoo Sultan," &c., &c.

In the treaty of 1800 with the Nizam occur these words :—

"Who, with uninterrupted harmony and concord having equally shared the fatigues and dangers of war and the blessings of peace, are, in fact, become one and the same in interest, policy, friendship, and honour."

The partition treaty of 1799 says—

"And whereas it has pleased Almighty God to prosper the just cause of the said allies, the Honorable English Company Bahadoor, and his Highness Nizam-ood-Dowla Ausuph Jah Bahadoor with a continual course of victory and success, and finally to crown their arms by the reduction of the capital of Mysore, the fall of Tippoo Sultan, the utter extinction of his power, and the unconditional submission of his people; and, whereas the said allies being disposed to exercise the rights of conquest with the same moderation and forbearance which they have observed from the commencement to the conclusion of the late successful war, have resolved to use the power which it has pleased Almighty God to place in their hands for the purpose of obtaining reasonable compensation for the expenses of the war, and of establishing permanent security and general tranquillity for themselves and their subjects as well as for all the powers contiguous to their respective dominions. Wherefore a Treaty for the adjustment of the territories of the late Tippoo Sultan between the English East India Company Bahadoor, and his Highness the Nawab Nizam-ood-Dowlah Ausuph Jah Bahadoor, is now concluded by according to the under-mentioned articles, which, by the blessing of God, shall be binding on the heirs and successors of the contracting parties as long as the sun and moon shall endure, and of which the conditions shall be reciprocally observed by the said contracting parties."

The above extracts show what the relative position of the English and Nizam was, and the last extract shows that "the partition treaty" was binding on both parties for ever.

This partition treaty, binding, as above stated, on "heirs and successors" of the contracting parties, provides in Article 4—

"A separate government shall be established in Mysore; and for this purpose it is stipulated and agreed that the Maharajah Mysore Kishna Rajah Oodiaver Bahadoor, a descendant of the ancient Rajahs of Mysore, shall possess the territory hereinafter described upon the conditions hereinafter mentioned."

Again, in Article 5 :—

"The contracting powers mutually and severally agree that the districts specified in Schedule C, hereunto annexed, shall be ceded to the said Maharajah Mysore Kishna Rajah, and shall form the separate government of Mysore, upon the conditions herein-after mentioned."

Article 8, again, throws some light on the relative position of the Nizam and English :—

"Then the right to the sovereignty of the several districts hereinbefore reserved for eventual cession to the Peishwa Rao Pundit Prudhan Bahadoor, shall rest jointly in the said *English East India Company Bahadoor*, and the said *Nawab Nizam-ood-Dowlah Ausuph Jah Bahadoor*, who will either exchange them with the *Rajah of Mysore* for other districts of equal value more contiguous to their respective territories, or otherwise arrange and settle respecting them, as they shall judge proper."

Article 9 gives the conditions referred to in Article 5, and is the authority of the subsidiary treaty.

So the facts are these: A separate government of Mysore was to be formed, and which stipulation is binding on the heirs and successors of the contracting parties. The question then simply is, Was Lord Wellesley justified in introducing anything into the subsidiary treaty that would in any way destroy the "separate government of Mysore," or anything beyond the condition contained in Article 9 as to the provision for a subsidiary force?

This is Article 9:—

"It being expedient, for the effectual establishment of Maharajah Mysore Kishna Rajah in the government of Mysore, that His Highness should be assisted with a suitable subsidiary force, it is stipulated and agreed that the whole of the said force shall be furnished by the English East India Company Bahadoor, according to the terms of a separate Treaty to be immediately concluded between the said English East India Company Bahadoor and His Highness the Maharajah Mysore Kishna Rajah Oodiaver Bahadoor."

In accordance with Article 9 of the partition treaty, given above, the subsidiary treaty was made, and the preamble simply recites the same purpose, as it in honesty ought.

The heading begins with the words, "A treaty of perpetual friendship and alliance;" then the preamble says, in accordance with the partition treaty:—

"Whereas it is stipulated in the Treaty concluded on the 22d of June, 1799, between the Honourable English East India Company Bahadoor and the Nawab Nizam-ood-Dowlah Ausuph Jah Bahadoor, for strengthening the alliance and friendship subsisting between the said English East India Company Bahadoor, his Highness Nizam-ood-Dowlah Ausuph Jah Bahadoor, and the Peishwa Rao Pundit Prudhan Bahadoor, and for effecting a settlement of the territories of the late Tippoo Sultan, that a separate government shall be established in Mysore, and that his Highness Maharajah Mysore Kishna Rajah Oodiaver Bahadoor shall possess certain territories, specified in Schedule C annexed to the said Treaty, and that, for the effectual establishment of the government of Mysore, His Highness shall be assisted with a suitable subsidiary force, to be furnished by the English East India Company Bahadoor; wherefore, in order to carry the said stipulations into effect, and to increase and strengthen the friendship subsisting between the said English East India Company

and the said Maharajah Mysore Kishna Rajah Oodiaver Bahadoor, this treaty is concluded by Lieutenant-General George Harris . . . and by His Highness Maharajah Mysore Kishna Rajah Oodiaver Bahadoor, *which shall be binding upon the contracting parties as long as the sun and moon shall endure.*"

Nothing can be clearer than the preamble, distinctly based upon the partition treaty, which binds for ever the English for a "separate government in Mysore," and providing for a suitable force. And yet this is the treaty which is endeavoured to be made personal, and by which some Englishmen have created a right of annexation.

Let us see the treaty further on. The very first article treats the two parties on an equality of duties, like two independent powers :—

"The friends and enemies of either of the contracting parties shall be considered as the friends and enemies of both."

Further articles relating to the question are given in the Appendix.

I shall make only one more short extract, which shows that the assumption of power by the British Government was not to be perpetual, but temporary. These are the words in Article 5 :—

"Provided always, that whenever and that *so long as* any part or parts of His said Highness's territory shall be placed and shall remain under the exclusive authority and control of the East India Company," &c. &c.

I leave now to you, gentlemen, to say whether the subsidiary treaty could, under all these circumstances, be considered as a simple personal treaty, and that the English have the right to annex Mysore on the death of the Raja ?

This paper is written by me not for complaint, but for thanksgiving. To Sir Stafford Northcote, as well as to Lord Cranborne and the few councillors who sided with them, sincere thanks are due not only from the natives of India, but even from Englishmen, for having to the former done an act of justice—or if you will have it, a proper and politic act of generosity—and for the latter, vindicated and maintained to the natives of India and to the world the character of the English nation for justice and liberality.

What gratitude and admiration such noble words as the following from Sir S. Northcote deserve, needs no comment from me :—"And we should endeavour as far as possible to develop the system of native government, to bring out native talent and statesmanship, and to enlist in the cause of government all that was great and good in them."

General LE GRAND JACOB said, his long experience as a political officer enabled him to throw considerable light on the subject on which Mr. Naoroji had just addressed them, and he gave the meeting an account of a boundary dispute that he had been engaged in settling thirty years ago, which had arisen consequent on the resumption by the Jam of Nuwanugger of a village formerly bestowed to secure the favour of a native possessing great influence with the authorities, but which influence gradually waned and became extinct with the supremacy of the British agency in the province. This village had been held under a grant to last "as long as the sun and moon should endure," in deference to which the Jam waited several years until an eclipse of the sun gave him a plausible pretext for annulling the *sunnud*.

The General proceeded:—I mention this as a fact to show what native opinion is, inasmuch as even a despotic and partially unprincipled Raja felt himself so bound by the words "as long as the sun and moon shall endure," that he would not resume his grant till he fancied he could salve his conscience by the sun and moon being obscured by an eclipse. Notwithstanding that it is the universal opinion in the East that the words must be understood to be perpetually binding, we find British and Christian gentlemen saying that they mean nothing at all. If the Mysore treaty be personal, as is now assumed by Lord William Hay and others, yet it is admitted that Lord Dalhousie was the first to find it out, and the treaty was consequently in existence and in operation for fifty years before this meaning was discovered. No one knew anything about it in India.

Lord William Hay, in speaking in the House of Commons, mentioned that the British Government were *compelled* to take possession of the Mysore territory. Such a statement as that is opposed to the facts of the case, for the Special Commission exonerated the Raja from the blame that had been attributed to him; and Lord William Bentinck, regretting the extreme measures that had been adopted, recommended the restoration of the Raja. Instead of *compelled*, Lord William Hay ought to have said *tempted*.

Another thing that has occurred to me as extraordinary throughout the history of this question is, that the opinion of the people of India has never been adverted to. There are nearly 200 millions of human beings in India: of course the great mass have no idea beyond filling their bellies, as they say; but there are thousands and hundreds of

thousands of deep-thinking, far-sighted men ; in addition to whom there is all the rising generation, many of them quite equal in intellectual ability and moral worth to any English gentleman. I have the pleasure of calling several such men my personal friends, with whom I correspond ; and I have very few English friends superior to them in attainments or character. This class is rapidly rising all over India in thousands—men who have reflected and reasoned, and who have every year more and more influence over their countrymen. Is the opinion of such men to be treated as nothing ? And yet there is no reference in all the debates on this question to the opinion of India. There could not be a greater mistake, because the stability of our rule depends quite as much on the people of India as on our armies there. We can perhaps keep down discontent by 100,000 British bayonets, but always at the risk of struggles and contentions, and the ultimate loss of the country. We may prevent this discontent by the belief of the natives in the justice of our rule alone, and without a half of 100,000 men. I am convinced, if the present Government—God grant they may long remain—could continue in power and act on the principles so gloriously laid down by Sir Stafford Northcote, we might begin to withdraw our troops from India. At the time of the Queen's proclamation, I had a conversation with one of the shrewdest chiefs of the Southern Mahratta country ; and he said, when he saw fresh troops coming in, “ Why are you sending out all these soldiers ? Only act on this proclamation, and you may send them back as soon as you please.” That was the opinion of an intelligent native chief, and I believe he spoke the truth. Confidence is a thing of slow growth ; but if we once succeed in getting the people to feel confidence in our rule, there will be nothing on which those who are engaged in causing disaffection will be able to work. It will be the interest of all the separate native chiefs scattered over the length and breadth of the land to be faithful to us, because we shall be their protectors instead of their destroyers. On the other hand, on the annexation principle, there was not a chief in India, however faithful, who did not feel as if all were sheep in a butcher's pen, kept, to be taken out from time to time, as it might suit the butcher ; and very few of the people, however their interests might be bound up in our own, who did not sympathize with them. As the Rao of Cutch said in a secret durbar, held to discuss the news of the annexation of Oude, to which confidential men only were admitted, “ It is evident there is no use in doing any good whatever for the English.

The King of Oude lent the Company's Government a crore ; they kept the money, and they dethroned him." It is but due to His Highness to add that, after much discussion, he decided that he would not alter his policy, but would continue to do as he had hitherto done, and trust to Providence.

I have heard remarks all round from the natives of every class that it was evident that gradually the object of our system and Government was to crush all the native powers, and to sweep everything under our own rule. How then can we wonder that there should be wide-spread disaffection over the whole land, and room for intriguers to work in ?

The policy of the Queen's proclamation gave the first deadly blow to that bad, unjust, and dangerous system. The people felt as if new life had been breathed into them. They allowed the old company to be a scapegoat to carry away the old things, and they looked to the Queen's proclamation as the *Magna Charta* of their rights. And yet the first thing the new ministry did as soon as they came into office was to begin to nibble at it, and the whole of the Mysore correspondence is of this nature. Those gentlemen who now set forward the evil of upsetting the decision of three governors-general and two secretaries of state, never said a word when another governor-general and secretary of state upset the Queen's proclamation. When, however, the present Government referred to that proclamation, and wished it to be a *bonâ fide* edict, and not a mere sham, then there was raised the cry of " You are upsetting a previous decision." Surely it is very inconsistent not to have raised that cry when the far more important State document was controverted.

It is now more than a quarter of a century since I studied Vattel and other writers on international law. Afterwards I became so intensely overworked that I had no time to carry on such studies so as to be able to quote chapter and verse ; but I have a strong impression that in Vattel or some other writer on such subjects there is a statement to the effect that in the interpretation of treaties between two states, one of which is powerful and the other weak, doubtful clauses should be interpreted in favour of the weaker ; the reason assigned being that the stronger, being able to dictate its own terms, could, if it had chosen, have altered things so as to have brought such clauses into clearer light ; but in having left them as they were, it could not take advantage of a dubious clause after having had the power of correcting and changing at the time the treaty was made. That reason will strike all of us as a

valid one; and yet we see statesmen in England not only construing what they call a dubious clause in favour of the strong party, but not consulting the weaker party in reference to the matter at all, and not even paying attention to the large body of their countrymen who, having studied these questions, protest against such a construction, deny that the clause is dubious, and hold that they have no right to construe that which they call dubious entirely in their own favour. Such statesmen act in the very teeth of the law of nations, and against common morality. That is not the way to secure the credit of our Government in India.

With regard to a remark made by Mr. Prinsep, one of the Indian councillors, that such treaties are merely life treaties; certainly his position gives him weight, and no doubt those who do not know India better will believe his statement. But I have had a great deal to do with treaties, and have been engaged a very long time in negotiations with native princes and natives of all kinds. I have had to consult the Book of Treaties over and over again; and to refer to some more than a hundred years old. But I have never yet met with an instance of repudiation at the end of a reign, unless there was some new clause or new condition. Therefore if Mr. Prinsep speaks correctly, I can only say that his remark does not apply to Western India.

There is another statement made in one of the Indian Council minutes which calls for comment. One of the councillors, a very able and clever man, Sir Erskine Perry, says that giving back the Mysore rule to a native is equivalent to going back to the time of the Heptarchy. What is the state of India now, presidency towns excepted, but similar to that of the Heptarchy, or gradually emerging from it?—the English governing classes as a handful of Normans deliberating on the best mode of governing the Heptarchy; and if they conceive that that mode is by ruling through the natural chiefs of the people, endeavouring to train these to render them competent to govern in our more enlightened mode, with due precautions for securing it,—is not this statesmanship?

Lord William Hay, in one of his papers or speeches regarding the greater employment of trusty and well-educated natives of high character, spoke most wisely, and I agree with him in every word he says. It is one of the defects of our Government that we have neglected to bring forward the natives and put them in positions to which they were entitled. But when he says that the people of India care little about their Rajas, he could not have made a greater

mistake ; because, although they may despise a weak Raja, yet they almost worship a good one, and entertain the utmost respect for the office. In the case under consideration it was not a mere Raja that was sought to be abolished, but the office. The natives are like bees, who must have a queen, though with a staff of drones. Therefore in ruling them through their own chiefs, we rule them through the very tone of their national feeling and character ; and to say they do not care to be so ruled, is inapplicable to the vast interior of India.

I need not say anything on the subject of finding out fifty years after a treaty had been working a new and strained meaning for clauses in it ; and to act upon the discovery for our own benefit is simply to break faith with the natives in our dealings with them, and to weaken our power over them. I feel the deepest interest in India, having been forty years there ; I speak from knowledge acquired since 1820 ; but I feel it is not for India only that I speak, but for the welfare of my own country also. I could prove before long-headed, searching men, from the inquiries I conducted for two years into the causes of the rebellion in India, and from general knowledge, that the annexation policy was one of the great causes of general disaffection ; and, as I look upon the stability of our rule to be equally for the benefit of India and our own country, and greatly for the honour of the latter, I long to see such a policy carried out as will enable that stability to remain unshaken.

Major EVANS BELL said—The case under consideration is one that may arise again in some of our native states in the course of time, and therefore, though I think it is probable many gentlemen now present heard with great pleasure many of the remarks made by the noble lord whose absence we regret, in his speech in the House of Commons, there were some things which he said that in my opinion would lead to most dangerous doctrines ; and if carried out logically would re-inaugurate a policy which has to a great extent been abandoned. According to the remarks he made, he seemed to suppose a personal treaty to be what it never was and never can be. Lord William Hay, in his speech, quoted the following passage from the Memoranda of Henry Wellesley :—

“ It is only necessary further to observe that the Article of the treaty of Mysore, relative to the restoration of the family, and in the person of the present Rajah, is so worded as to preclude all possibility of disturbance from any person coming forward hereafter with a priority of claim.”—(Wellesley’s Despatches, vol. ii. p. 573.)

Upon this the noble lord remarked that this clearly shows that “ the

treaty was understood as conferring no right of heritable succession, but came to an end at the death of the Rajah." Not at all: Henry Wellesley, in this very memorandum, repeatedly speaks of "*the restoration of the family*,"—a phrase which clearly implies hereditary sovereignty. He alludes to "*a priority of claim*," that is to say, to some claim pretending to be *better* than that of the Rajah whom we enthroned. What he meant was, that even if the Rajah, then a child six years old, should die before having arrived at an age when he might leave an heir of his body or of adoption—for an infant cannot adopt—then the British Government would settle the succession according to its own judgment, and not according to any of those claims to the whole or part of the Mysore territories which they had already set aside.

The noble lord supposes a personal treaty to be what it never has been and never can be. The treaty in question has no mark of a personal treaty, and bears upon its face all the distinctive marks of a real and permanent treaty. I shall give you both reason and authority for what I say.

The noble lord proceeds on the dictum that a treaty made with a prince by name, without any mention of "*heirs and successors*," is a *personal treaty*—a dictum totally unsupported by any principle, precedent, or example to be drawn from either law or history.

What then is a personal treaty? Have we ever made any personal treaties in India? These questions are very easily answered. The first is explained by the writers usually relied on as the leading authorities on the law of nations—Grotius, Vattel, and others. There is a broad distinction between a real and a personal treaty. A real treaty is made for public objects, and is to last as long as those public objects last. A personal treaty is made for the private objects and interests of an individual prince or family, and is to last only as long as the individual or the family lasts. Thus a treaty made between two princes for a family alliance or compact—whether relating to a marriage, or a campaign, or joint resistance to revolution, instances of each of these being found in modern history—is a personal treaty. It has no direct reference to the interests of the State or people, but only to those of the king or dynasty, and expires with them. A treaty also, such as we have made at different times in India, some of which, I believe, still subsist, granting a pension for life, as reward or compensation, to a prince or other individual, is a personal treaty. Under treaties of this sort we paid an annual stipend to the late

Nawab of Tonk, and to Dowlat Rao Scindia and some ladies of his family. The treaty made by the Duke of Wellington with Amrut Rao, and the terms of capitulation between Sir John Malcolm and Bajee Rao, the last Peishwa, are also instances of personal treaties.

The base of all the attacks on the Mysore treaties lies in this error—and it is a complete error—that a treaty is "*personal*" because it does not contain the words "*heirs and successors*." These words are not essential, though after the fatal advantage that has been taken of their absence, I cannot say they are superfluous. A reigning prince when named in a treaty is the representative of a State, which is permanent, and of sovereignty, which is always hereditary. Grotius lays down the rule:—

"If a treaty is made with a king by name, without any mention of heirs and successors, it is not therefore *presently* to be reputed personal, for as it is well observed by Pedius and Ulpian, the person is often inserted in the contract, not that the contract is personal, but to show with whom the contract was made.

"If it be added to the treaty that *it shall stand for ever*, or that it is made *for the good of the kingdom*, it will from hence fully appear that the treaty is *real*."—*Grotius*, lib. ii. cap. 15 (16).

No words can be stronger than those used in the treaties of 1799: they are "*perpetual*;" they are to last "*as long as the sun and moon endure*." What words can be more conclusive? Of their public objects there can be no doubt. The partition treaty is said to be made "*to establish permanent security and general tranquillity*." The subsidiary treaty declares itself to be made "*to carry the stipulations of the partition treaty into effect—for the protection and defence of the territories of the contracting parties or either of them—for the happiness of the people and the mutual welfare of both States*.

The noble lord may possibly reply that he admits *some* treaties with no mention of "*heirs and successors*," to be *real* treaties; but that the presumption is against this particular treaty on account of that omission, because we have proof in the private memoranda and markings in pencil by Lord Wellesley that the omission of those words was intentional on his part. Repeating once more that no verbal omission or defect in form can make a treaty *personal* which is *real* by virtue of its *public and permanent objects*, I deny entirely the value for any purpose, except biographical and historical purposes, of the interesting discovery made by the noble lord at the British Museum. Private memoranda and lead-pencil-marks are worthless for the interpretation of a solemn document like a treaty. They cannot nullify or vitiate the actual terms

and tenor of that treaty. Even if Lord Wellesley had really wished to gain an unfair advantage by the unobserved omission of the words "heirs and successors," or had anticipated that some future Governor-General, in some more secure and settled time of our power, would be able to seize such an advantage, no such advantage could be acquired under any canon of international law. Such a claim can only be made in defiance of the rules laid down by the highest authorities. The great writers on international law tell us that the provisions of a treaty must always be interpreted in the sense most favourable to the weaker party. The noble lord's doctrine is very different. He says that the stronger party may not only insist on the strict letter of the treaty, but may also enforce all its own secret objects and mental reservations, as they may be gathered or guessed at—fifty years after the date of the treaty—from private notes and pencil jottings. He says more than that—he says that these rough drafts, private notes, and pencil jottings may overrule the positive declarations of a ratified treaty recorded in ink on parchment, and carefully preserved in the archives of Mysore and Calcutta. He pronounces the solemn words "*to last as long as the sun and moon endure*," to be mere words of form, like the subscription of "your most obedient, humble servant," to a letter; while he erects the obscure memoranda and pencil corrections of one party, never communicated to the other, into a canon of interpretation, which may annul the whole document.

The CHAIRMAN here interposed and said—It seems to me that while all remarks upon the paper that has been read, spoken to the point are eminently pertinent and desirable, it may not be quite fair to one who is absent that words should be quoted as apparently having been used by him which really convey the sense the present speaker ascribes to the words actually employed. I am bound, in justice to my noble friend, who will be present at a future meeting, and will state his opinions unreservedly, to point out that he certainly never said it was competent or just for any one making a treaty to leave room for mental reservation to be given effect to at a future time. I am sure Major Bell will not say that Lord William Hay asserted that a mental reservation would be given effect to at a future period, to invalidate a treaty. I should not try to stop Major Bell's remarks, but I do not think he gives quite a fair interpretation of his lordship's words.

Major BELL—I shall bow to your authority as Chairman. It is ex-

tremely probable you are right; but if what I have stated was not the meaning of Lord William Hay's remarks, the matter was not relevant.

Lord Wellesley did some very grasping and arbitrary things, but I do not believe he ever had the sly and underhand intentions that have been imputed, both with reference to the Mysore and the Carnatic treaties. Lord Wellesley's aim in constructing the treaties of 1799 was undoubtedly that of gaining the tightest hold possible over Mysore and its resources; and he no doubt thought he could gain a tighter hold by omitting the words "heirs and successors," thus leaving the succession open for decision by the protecting power. With an infant on the throne, incapable for many years of begetting or adopting a son, with his claim to the throne disputed, as we know, by other members of the family, this seemed a more important point at the time than it does now. But there is literally nothing to show that Lord Wellesley ever thought of appropriating Mysore at the Raja's death, or of declaring the sovereignty of Mysore not to be hereditary. Everything recorded in his despatches tells against such a notion. He speaks of restoring "*a family*," "*a dynasty*;" of establishing a *kingdom* and a *state*.

In conclusion, I must briefly touch upon a vast and all-important topic which could only be adequately explained and illustrated in a paper expressly devoted to it. Let us beware how we loosen the sanctions of our Indian treaties. We cannot justly or safely attempt to tamper with a treaty of fifty years' standing, on the plea that it was a *bad* bargain. It was a bargain, and must be adhered to. Our only title to the greater part of our possessions in India is a title by treaty. We do not hold many provinces directly by conquest. Our only title to possession, our only moral claim to the allegiance and subordination of the princes of India, and, as I believe, all our future power of permanent influence for the education and civilization of India, depend on the preservation and development of our existing system of treaties.

MR. BONNERJEE—As I think differently from the three last speakers, I shall venture to put my observations in as concise a shape as possible. It is almost useless to discuss this question of Mysore, because it has been settled in favour of the Raja, and to re-open it would perhaps not be right. The honourable baronet in the chair, however, said similar questions might arise, and some little discussion therefore on the points raised in the paper of Mr. Naoroji may be desirable. In the first place, I beg to remark that the position of the Raja of Mysore, as regards the English

Government, is to be decided by his treaty with them, and by the treaty alone. Whatever considerations of moral obligation on the English Government there might be to support a Hindoo Raja to govern Hindoos, the defenders of the Raja have rightly placed his position entirely on the treaty. If the treaty is a personal one, he is to govern the country ; but if it is not, the conduct of the English government, in having deprived him of Mysore, has been quite right, and the despatch of Sir Stafford Northcote must be considered the reverse of right. As regards the treaty, we must, in addition to other grounds, consider it with reference to the expediency of the case. ("No.") The meeting heard the observations of the three last speakers with patience, and if I am allowed to speak for a little time I shall make my observations perfectly clear. At the time this sovereignty was given over to Mysore, the prince was an infant. If the treaty is not personal, but dynastic, and is to endure to this Raja, and his heirs and successors, "as long as the sun and moon shall endure," then there is no doubt that, if the Raja had died without a son, the kingdom would have gone to his heir, according as it is laid down in Hindoo law. Suppose he had died a young man, without having been married, and without having taken over the government of Mysore, would any gentleman say it would have been right to put these provinces into the hands of a distant relative ? Well, it is almost absurd to think that a right-minded Government would have done so. Now, in the event I am supposing, if the English Government had acted in accordance with the dynastic interpretation now attempted to be put upon the treaty, and given over the government of Mysore to the hands of this distant relative, perhaps an uneducated Hindoo female, there cannot be much doubt but that it would be an exceedingly wrong thing on their part ; for when they took it into their heads to make a separate government of Mysore, they must be supposed to have done so for the benefit of the people of that country. To give it to a distant relative, perhaps up to the time unknown, would have been to do the greatest act of injustice, and I will say, the greatest act of tyranny to the people of Mysore. The interests of good government would have prompted the English government to take it from his hands, and rule it themselves.

But apart from this argument, which I consider to be of great importance, the whole treaty shows that no such thing could possibly have been meant as that Mysore should have been made entirely to belong to the family of the Raja ; because, if you look at the words of the treaty you will find

among them these: "And for effecting a settlement of the territories of the late Tippoo Sultan, a separate government shall be established in Mysore, and his Highness Maharajah Mysore Kishna Rajah shall possess certain territories," &c. &c. This distinction of active and passive voice is one of great importance, because, if it were said that these territories should belong to the Raja, the Raja would have been entitled to the provinces, as would also his heirs and successors; but I believe it is entirely limited to his person. But whether the treaty was personal or not, I believe it was altogether from beginning to end a nullity, because you gave away to a man a province thickly inhabited, without the consent of the inhabitants; and I say, an act which professes to deliver hundreds of thousands of people from one possessor to another, without their consent, is an act which cannot be justified, especially in the nineteenth century, in Europe. Therefore, without the consent of the Mysorians, which was not given, the treaty was void, and the claim of the Raja to the sovereignty could not have had any valid foundation, and his reign must be taken to have been on sufferance. I consider Sir Stafford Northcote's giving over Mysore, or making new arrangements for it, to be a great mistake; because you have no right to give over this territory to a young man without violating one of the most fundamental principles of the political government of England. For the sake of appearances, even, the English Government ought to have appointed a royal commission to examine the Mysorians themselves, as to whether they would remain under the government of the English directly or under that of the Raja. I am quite sure we can all fancy what the result of such a commission would have been. Every one in the country, no doubt, would have to go back to the government of the Raja; but we ought not to have anticipated such a result. The English Government was in duty bound to send out a commission to examine these people, and having, without that, given over the province to this prince, they have acted most tyrannically.

MR. NORTON—I had not intended to address this meeting, not being a member of the Association, nor could I have done so, had I not been invited to do so by the President. The same reasons which have prevented me from hitherto joining this society, would also under ordinary circumstances have kept my mouth closed; because so long as there is any question under the consideration of the Government, I conceive that the servants of that Government, and especially its legal servants, are bound, whatever their political opinions may be, to keep them to themselves, and

observe the strictest reticence. But this question is not within that category. The Government of her Majesty has spoken out, and has decided definitely—I hope definitively—upon this great matter. We have heard hitherto but one dissentient voice against the policy which has been determined upon, and I am happy to say it was not raised by a native of this country. I do not think it necessary for me to controvert his position, though it is cheerful to be relieved of the dull monotony of perfect unanimity. It would be a most mischievous thing to let it get abroad that there is a notion in the minds of any influential persons in this country, that this question of the personal character of the treaty is ever to be reopened. I do not intend to go into the reasons on which I base my own legal opinion that this treaty is not of a personal, but of a public and dynastic character. There are however certain points which I should wish to bring to the notice of the meeting. I would mention, that as the matter stands at present, there is no decision as to whether this treaty is of a personal or of a dynastic character. It is very true that Lord Cranborne, the late Secretary of State for India, expressed a very strong opinion in the House of Commons—which he reiterated—that he was astonished that any of those who were the advocates of the Raja of Mysore, should have come to the conclusion that this was any other than a personal treaty ; and also that he was fortified in this conclusion of his own, inasmuch as he had taken the precaution to consult high legal authority. It is strong language to use, but I should be prepared to pledge my professional reputation on this event—that if ever this question could come to be discussed and decided by any legal tribunal, such as the Privy Council, the treaty would be held to be dynastic and not personal. The subsidiary treaty cannot be held to stand alone. This treaty and the partition treaty are *in pari materia*, and according to the writers on international law they must be read together. You will see at once that this subsidiary treaty cannot stand alone, or be construed without reference to the partition treaty. Reference is made in it repeatedly to the latter. I do not wish to treat this matter as if it were before a legal forum, because it can never get before such a forum. In construing a treaty, the Government of a country will not refer a question, as between itself and the other contracting party, to a legal tribunal for decision, or except for private legal advice. It is the Ministry, the Cabinet of the day that must decide upon its effect, and that the English Cabinet has done in this case. With

reference to the very interesting matter which Lord William Hay has discovered in the British Museum, although I admit it is of the most interesting character in an antiquarian point of view, I utterly deny that it throws any light whatever upon the question of the construction of the treaty. If such matter as this were sought to be brought before a legal tribunal, it would be at once rejected by the laws of evidence; for when once the contract is signed, all else is put aside, and you must construe the document by the terms within its four corners in a court of law.

Mr. BONNERJEE—Not according to Equity practice.

Mr. NORTON—The rules of evidence in equity are the same as those at common law. However, this matter never could, and never will come before any legal tribunal; and I think the only way in which we must look at it is to consider what is its fair, moral effect upon gentlemen placed in the position of the Cabinet. And I would ask, could anything, then, be more monstrous, or more unfair than that remarks made by one side, and never brought under the notice of, or assented to by the other party, should ever be brought forward for the purpose of construing what was the intention of both parties, and the intention of the treaty? I am very far from saying that there is not plenty to form the basis of a specious argument in favour of the personal character of the treaty; but looking at the whole matter, I would pledge my professional reputation that it would be held by a legal tribunal to be a public and dynastic, and not a personal treaty. Both England and India are very much indebted to Lord W. Hay for the course which he has taken, which brought on the second discussion in the House of Commons, and gave to the public all we now know about what has been determined by the Ministry in favour of the non-annexation of the Raj. Yet if, on the one hand, this new matter which has been discovered may be adduced as an argument in favour of the personal construction of the treaty; then, on the other, I ask if we may not refer to the letter of Mr. Bowring in the *Times*, in which he said there was nothing in his archives from which any intention of Lord Wellesley, and other statesmen from that time, could be inferred that this was a personal and not a public treaty. I have had the opportunity of conversing with another officer of equal knowledge of Mysore with Mr. Bowring, and he also fortifies his statement, and asserts that it is fully borne out by the records of Mysore. When we first went, in 1780, into Tippoo's country, we made a treaty with the grandmother of this very Raja. It was in her name we entered the country, and it was her flag we planted on all the forts we

took. Then we have the Duke of Wellington's fear, expressed in the most plain manner, lest at any future time any such notion should arise as has arisen, namely that of the policy of annexation, by which the hereditary character of the treaty could possibly be set aside. Sir George Clarke states, that though we can trace back the history of the Rajas for two thousand years, there is no instance of such a thing as a life Raja. I do conceive that we should be doing but scant justice to those great men who entered into this treaty after the fall of Seringapatam, if we were to imagine that they had any other idea than that this treaty should last "as long as the sun and moon should endure,"—than that they intended, it to be a treaty of a dynastic, and not of a personal character; that they put the Raja forward, as Mr. Smollett calls it, as a mere "warming-pan."

There is another matter on which I should like to say a few words, because it is one of the gravest importance. If I recollect aright what was said in the House of Commons, some notion was entertained about the necessity of our undoing what we have done, in order to pave the way for the restoration at some future time of a Native government; and Mr. Smollett went so far as to say, that the penal code of India is utterly unfit for a Native population. That may be a very good reason, if there is in the code anything it is no reason for withdrawing the penal code, which I hold to be a man-unfitted to the Natives, for amending the penal code in that respect; but vellous work, and one which has certainly, on the whole, operated well. We have introduced a civil procedure, and a criminal procedure, and instituted a system of revenue, public works, and so forth. I hold it would be the gravest possible mistake if we were to depart from what we have introduced, with the view of making a Native administration at some future time more easy. Formerly, in regard to civil disputes, all that a man had to guide him, whether Native or European, was this: he was told to decide according to equity or good conscience. What was that but to leave to every man to do what he himself thought proper and correct? So again in criminal matters, a man really had nothing before him to guide him as to what was necessary to constitute a crime, to bring home to an accused, or direct him as to what was a proper punishment. You have now book-law, statute-law, which any man of moderate abilities can turn to, to ascertain the substantive law; and in criminal matters to see the measure of punishment which is to be awarded for each crime. Therefore, I think it would be the gravest possible mistake, if we were to depart at all from

what we have done, with the view of facilitating Native administration hereafter. I say we should rather press on in that direction than abandon what we have done, and the way in which we should really facilitate the restoration of the country at some future time to the administration of the Natives, is by the introduction of a larger share of Native administration than at present.

In regard to Mysore, much more might have been done in that direction, and Mr. Bowring was, I think, fully justified in what he said in his letter in the *Times*, that this is the mode in which we ought to pave the way for the future ruler—namely, that as occasion arises, we should introduce a larger amount of Native administration into the State; and it is in that way, and that alone, that we shall make the Natives feel we are acting honestly by them; that it is not mere talk on our part; that, as they adapt themselves, we will employ them; that their interests will be bound up in ours; and if there should be any hostility from without or within, we shall be able to show the Natives that what we say we intend to do, and that the Queen's proclamation is truly their Magna Charta. We all know that at this present moment India is passing through one of the most extraordinary revolutions that any nation has ever known. It is unmarked, because it is unattended to; the ordinary accompaniments of revolution, blood and flame, are wanting; but I believe that after fifteen or twenty years of peace, India may be one of the happiest, most contented, and best-governed kingdoms in the world. It is very well for "gentlemen of England, who live at home at ease," to talk of India as the brightest jewel in the British crown. I wish there were more desire to hand down that jewel pure, untarnished, and without a flaw. I am satisfied that the decision of Government with regard to the future of Mysore will truly be a tower of strength to us, if ever there should be another struggle in which we must take part; because I do not think that the permanency or strength of our Government can rest on seventy or eighty thousand British bayonets, or on the loyalty of India—because, where a government consists of foreigners, that cannot be expected—but on the love and esteem, or at least the respect, of the Natives. A meeting of this kind, which represents a very great knowledge of India, composed as it is, partly of Native gentlemen, and partly of gentlemen like myself and others, who have spent the better part of their lives in India, so that it is almost their adopted country, who know what the opinions, and feelings, and wishes of the Natives are, can hardly fail

to give great strength and power to the Ministry who have come to this decision on the question of Mysore.

The CHAIRMAN—In one sense there has been but little discussion, but little difference of opinion ; and I am very happy to think that among gentlemen who are so well acquainted with India—many of whom possess opinions well worthy of respect on all Indian subjects—the policy which has been pursued by the Secretary of State commends itself as just and politic. It has been my fortune to serve in the last year under two Secretaries of State for India, who were supposed by some speakers to have differed in opinion on important points connected with the Mysore question ; and as there has been in our time, and are, many statesmen who have advocated views diametrically opposed on this question, I think it may not be out of place to maintain that there may be views altogether different on this and many other questions deeply affecting the interests of the people and princes of India, which yet may arise from equally just intentions, from equally honourable minds, and from an equal desire to respect the rights and privileges of all. There is too much inclination, I am afraid, everywhere to ascribe improper and unworthy motives to those from whom we differ ; and this has been eminently true in the discussions that have taken place on this and kindred questions in relation to India. Some gentlemen are not able to see that those who take an opposite view from that of the present secretary of state may have been actuated by motives as high. It seems to me there has sometimes been a confusion between the rights of the princes and the interests of the people, and many have been inclined to accuse Indian statesmen of a disregard of the interests of the people of India, when it has been the title-deeds that were at fault. One gentleman has quoted to-night a case in which the title of a prince was set aside, but in which I do not think the rights of the people were disregarded, and that was the case of the annexation of the nabobship of Oude. I do not consider the interests of the people suffered from that change of government. That, at all events, was not a just illustration of the invasion of the title of the prince, and the interests of the people giving way at the same time. But we need not go back on times that are past, and which have certainly passed away by the inauguration of a new policy. It is earnestly to be hoped that the princes of India look upon the engagements of the British Queen as irrevocable. I trust that far and wide in India it is believed that since the Parliament of this

country has taken a more direct share in the administration of India, a deeper interest has been aroused in the welfare of the distant dominion, and that it possesses increasing attractions to our Indian statesmen. If our security for the liberties of the people of this country has been the aspiration of the wisest and best to have an interest in the government of Great Britain, I hope that the same motive may redound to the welfare of India, when it prompts the best statesmen to think that the career of Indian Minister is not second to any other post. Whatever may be the result of the present decision of the Secretary of State, it is the earnest desire of her Majesty's Government, and I believe of the whole Parliament of England, that the young man whom the Maharajah has adopted, and who it is hoped may one day succeed him in his important position, may grow up worthy of his name, and worthy to be entrusted with the destinies of his fellow-countrymen. No doubt, great responsibility attaches to the British Government, which assumes the guardianship of an Indian prince, the more so when they declare that in them is placed the guardianship of the rights of the people. But I trust that his reign may some day be one which will be a blessing to the people of his country. I am glad it has been my privilege to occupy the chair during this interesting discussion. I believe nothing has been said which any gentleman will have cause to regret; for while Major Bell did attach a meaning to the words of Lord William Hay which I do not think they can bear, his remarks were so handsomely withdrawn that they could be understood in no unfavourable sense. Lord William Hay has shown so much ability in defending his own opinion, and perhaps the gage of battle may lead to an interesting discussion on a future occasion.

Captain BARBER—I beg to propose a vote of thanks to Mr. Naoroji, for the interesting paper he has been good enough to read to us.

Mr. GORDON—I have great pleasure in seconding that, having had an opportunity on the committee of seeing the extreme interest he takes in all matters connected with India, and the ability with which he handles every subject.

The vote was carried unanimously.

Mr. NAOROJI proposed a vote of thanks to Sir James Fergusson, for his great kindness in presiding, and the warm interest he has shown in the subject.

This motion was also carried, and the meeting then separated.

APPENDIX.

SUBSIDIARY TREATY WITH THE RAJAH OF MYSORE, 1799.

A treaty of perpetual friendship and alliance, concluded on the one part by His Excellency . . . and on the other part by Maharajah Mysore Kishna Rajah Oodiaver Bahadoor, Rajah of Mysore, . . . to increase and strengthen the friendship subsisting between the said English East India Company and the said Maharajah Mysore Kishna Rajah Oodiaver Bahadoor. This treaty is concluded by Lieut.-General George Harris . . . and by His Highness Maharajah Mysore Kishna Rajah Oodiaver Bahadoor, which shall be binding upon the contracting parties as long as the sun and moon shall endure.

ARTICLE I.

The friends and enemies of either of the contracting parties shall be considered as the friends and enemies of both.

ARTICLE II.

The Honourable East India Company Bahadoor agrees to maintain, and His Highness Maharajah Mysore Kishna Rajah Oodiaver Bahadoor agrees to receive a military force for the defence and security of His Highness's dominions; in consideration of which protection, His Highness engages to pay the annual sum of seven lakhs of star pagodas to the said East India Company, the said sum to be paid in twelve equal monthly instalments, commencing from the 1st of July, anno Domini 1799. And His Highness further agrees that the disposal of the said sum, together with the arrangement and employment of the troops to be maintained by it, shall be entirely left to the Company.

TREATY WITH THE RAJAH OF TRAVANCORE, 1805.

Treaty of perpetual friendship and alliance between the Honourable English East India Company Bahadoor and the Maharajah Ram Rajah Bahadoor, Rajah of Travancore . . . to strengthen and fix the terms of the ancient friendship and alliance subsisting between the Company and the Rajah of Travancore, . . . the present Treaty is concluded by Lieutenant Colonel Colin Macaulay . . . and by His Highness the Rajah of Travancore himself, . . . agreeably to the following articles, which shall be binding on the contracting parties as long as the sun and moon shall endure.

ARTICLE I.

The friends and enemies of either of the contracting parties shall be considered as the friends and enemies of both; the Honourable Company especially engaging to defend and protect the territories of the Rajah of Travancore against all enemies whatsoever.

ARTICLE III.

In consideration of the stipulation and release contained in the first and second Articles, whereby the Company becomes liable to heavy and constant expense, while great relief is afforded to the finances of the Rajah, His Highness engages to pay annually to the said Company a sum equivalent to the expense of one regiment of native infantry in addition to the sum now payable for the force subsidized by the third Article of the subsidiary Treaty of 1795; the said amount to be paid in six equal instalments to commence from the first day of January, one thousand eight hundred and five; and His said Highness further agrees that the disposal of the said sum, together with the arrangement and employment of the troops to be maintained by it, whether stationed within the Travancore country or within the Company's limits, shall be left entirely to the Company.

MYSORE.

ARTICLE III.

If it shall be necessary for the protection and defence of the territories of the contracting parties, or of either of them, that hostilities shall be undertaken, or preparations made for commencing hostilities against any State or power, His said Highness Maharajah Mysore Kishna Rajah Oodiaver Bahadoor agrees to contribute toward the discharge of the increased expense incurred by the augmentation of the military force, and the unavoidable charges of war, such a sum as shall appear to the Governor-General in Council of Fort William, on an attentive consideration of the means of his said Highness, to bear a just and reasonable proportion to the actual net revenues of his said Highness.

ARTICLE IV.

And whereas it is indispensably necessary that effectual and lasting security should be provided against any failure in the funds destined to defray either the expenses of the permanent military force in time of peace, or the extraordinary expenses described in the third Article of the present Treaty, it is hereby stipulated and agreed between the contracting parties, that whenever the Governor-General in Council of Fort William in Bengal shall have reason to apprehend such failure in the funds so destined, the said Governor-General in Council shall be at liberty, and shall have full power and right either to introduce such regulations and ordinances as he shall deem expedient for the internal management and collection of the revenues, or for the better ordering of any other branch and department of the government of Mysore, or to assume and bring under the direct management of the servants of the said Company Bahadoor such part or parts of the territorial possessions of His Highness Maharajah Mysore Kishna Rajah Oodiaver Bahadoor, as shall appear to him, the said Governor-General in Council, necessary to render the said funds efficient and available, either in time of peace or war.

TRAVANCORE.

ARTICLE IV.

Should it become necessary for the Company to employ a larger force than that which is stipulated for in the preceding Article, to protect the territories of the said Maharajah against attack or invasion, His Highness agrees to contribute jointly with the Company towards the discharge of the increased expense thereby occasioned such a sum as shall appear on an attentive consideration of the means of His said Highness to bear a just and reasonable proportion to the actual net revenues of His Highness.

ARTICLE V.

And whereas it is indispensably necessary that effectual and lasting security should be provided against any failure in the funds destined to defray either the expenses of the permanent military force in time of peace, or the extraordinary expenses described in the preceding Article of the present Treaty, it is hereby stipulated and agreed between the contracting parties that whenever the Governor-General in Council of Fort William in Bengal shall have reason to apprehend such failure in the funds so destined, the said Governor-General in Council shall be at liberty and shall have full power and right either to introduce such regulations and ordinances as he shall deem expedient for the internal management and collection of the revenues or for the better ordering of any other branch and department of the government of Travancore, or to assume and bring under the direct management of the servants of the said Company Bahadoor such part or parts of the territorial possessions of His Highness the Maharajah Ram Rajah Bahadoor as shall appear to him the said Governor-General in Council necessary to render the said funds efficient and available either in time of peace or war.

MYSORE.

ARTICLE V.

And it is hereby further agreed that whenever the said Governor-General in Council shall signify to the said Maharajah Mysore Kishna Rajah Oodiaver Bahadoor that it is become necessary to carry into effect the provisions of the fourth Article, His said Highness Maharajah Mysore Kishna Rajah Oodiaver Bahadoor shall immediately issue orders to his amuls or other officers either for carrying into effect the said regulations and ordinances, according to the tenor of the fourth Article, or for placing the territories required under the exclusive authority and control of the English Company Bahadoor. And in case His Highness shall not issue such orders within ten days from the time when the application shall have been formally made to him, then the said Governor-General in Council shall be at liberty to issue orders, by his own authority, either for carrying into effect the said regulations and ordinances, or for assuming the management and collection of the revenues of the said territories, as he shall judge most expedient for the purpose of securing the efficiency of the said military funds and of providing for the effectual protection of the country and the welfare of the people. Provided always, that whenever and so long as any part or parts of His said Highness's territories shall be placed and shall remain under the exclusive authority and control of the said East India Company, the Governor-General in Council shall render to His Highness a true and faithful account of the revenues and produce of the territories so assumed; provided also, that in no case whatever shall His Highness's actual receipt or annual income, arising out of his territorial revenues, be less than the sum of one lakh of Star Pagodas, together with one-fifth of the net revenues of the whole of the territories ceded to him by the fifth Article of the Treaty of Mysore; which sum of one lakh of Star Pagodas, together with the amount of one-fifth of the said net revenues, the East India Company engages, at all times and in every possible case, to secure and cause to be paid for His Highness's use.

TRAVANCORE.

ARTICLE VI.

And it is hereby further agreed that, whenever the said Governor-General in Council shall signify to the said Maharajah Ram Rajah Bahadoor that it is become necessary to carry into effect the provisions of the fifth Article, His said Highness Maharajah Ram Rajah Bahadoor shall immediately issue orders to his amuls or other officers, either for carrying into effect the said regulations and ordinances according to the tenor of the fifth Article, or for placing the territories required under the exclusive authority and control of the English Company Bahadoor; and in case His Highness should not issue such orders within ten days from the time when the application shall have been formally made to him, then the said Governor-General in Council shall be at liberty to issue orders by his own authority either for carrying into effect the said regulations and ordinances, or for assuming the management and collection of the said territories, as he shall judge most expedient for the purpose of securing the efficiency of the said military funds and of providing for the effectual protection of the country and the welfare of the people: Provided always that, whenever and so long as any part or parts of His said Highness's territories shall be placed and shall remain under the exclusive authority and control of the said East India Company, the Governor-General in Council shall render to His Highness a true and faithful account of the revenues and produce of the territories so assumed: Provided also that in no case whatever shall His Highness's actual receipt or annual income, arising out of his territorial revenue, be less than the sum of two lakhs of rupees, together with one-fifth part of the net revenues of the whole of his territories, which sum of two lakhs of rupees, together with the amount of one-fifth of the said net revenues, the East India Company engages at all times and in every possible case to secure and cause to be paid for His Highness's use.

MYSORE.

ARTICLE VI.

His Highness Maharajah Mysore Kishna Rajah Oodlaiver Bahadoor engages that he will be guided by a sincere and cordial attention to the relations of peace and amity now established between the English Company Bahadoor and their allies, and that he will carefully abstain from any interference in the affairs of any State in alliance with the said English Company Bahadoor, or of any State whatever. And for securing the object of this stipulation it is further stipulated and agreed that no communication or correspondence with any foreign State whatsoever shall be holden by His said Highness without the previous knowledge and sanction of the English Company Bahadoor.

ARTICLE VII.

His Highness stipulates and agrees that he will not admit any European foreigners into his service without the concurrence of the English Company Bahadoor; and that he will apprehend and deliver up to the Company's government all Europeans of whatever description who shall be found within the territories of His said Highness without regular passports from the Company's government, it being His Highness's determined resolution not to suffer even for a day any European foreigner to remain within the territories now subjected to his authority, unless by consent of the said Company.

ARTICLE XIV.

His Highness Maharajah Mysore Kishna Rajah Oodlaiver Bahadoor hereby promises to pay at all times the utmost attention to such advice as the Company's government shall occasionally judge it necessary to offer to him, with a view to the economy of his finances, the better collection of his revenues, the administration of justice, the extension of commerce, the encouragement of trade, agriculture, and industry, or any other objects connected with the advancement of His Highness's interests, the happiness of his people, and the mutual welfare of both States.

TRAVANCORE.

ARTICLE VII.

His Highness Maharajah Ram Rajah Bahadoor engages that he will be guided by a sincere and cordial attention to the relations of peace and amity established between the English Company and their allies, and that he will carefully abstain from any interference in the affairs of any State in alliance with the said English Company Bahadoor, or of any State whatever; and for securing the object of this stipulation it is further stipulated and agreed that no communication or correspondence with any foreign State whatever shall be holden by His said Highness without the previous knowledge and sanction of the said English Company Bahadoor.

ARTICLE VIII.

His Highness stipulates and agrees that he will not admit any European foreigners into his service without the concurrence of the English Company Bahadoor, and that he will apprehend and deliver to the Company's Government all Europeans of whatever description, who shall be found within the territories of His said Highness without regular passports from the English Government; it being His Highness's determined resolution not to suffer even for a day any European to remain within his territories unless by consent of the said Company.

ARTICLE IX.

. . . His Highness hereby promises to pay at all times the utmost attention to such advice as the English Government shall occasionally judge it necessary to offer to him, with a view to the economy of his finances, the better collection of his revenues, the administration of justice, the extension of commerce, the encouragement of trade, agriculture, and industry, or any other objects connected with the advancement of His Highness's interests, the happiness of his people, and the mutual welfare of both States.

EVENING MEETING, JULY 25; 1867.

SIR HERBERT EDWARDES, K.C.B. K.C.S.I., IN THE CHAIR.

The following PAPER was read by Mr. W. C. BONNERJEE:—

REPRESENTATIVE AND RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT FOR INDIA.

It is curious to note the gradual changes which the English Government in India has passed through, before assuming its present form. A small and insignificant power possessing authority over a factory, it has risen up to be an immense empire, the importance of which vies with and baffles its vast proportions. The history of the world, both ancient and modern, does not present another such remarkable instance of the growth of a power in a foreign land. The subjugation of alien provinces, in ancient times, was almost invariably effected by sheer force of arms. After the conquest they were governed as best suited the purposes of the conquerors, and then abandoned; or the latter driven out if unable to maintain their supremacy. So, too, in modern times. There has hardly been known one case of colonization which has not been achieved by superior forces. But the case of India is singularly different. The English have become the masters of more than nine-tenths of the country; but not by means usually adopted in such cases. They have acquired their possessions partly by gift, partly by purchase, and partly by property inevitably falling into their hands. As the late Lord Palmerston expresses it,¹ "the original settlers began with a factory,

¹ Speech of Lord Palmerston introducing his India Bill, 1858. Hansard, vol. cxlviii. p. 1278.

the factory grew into a fort, the fort expanded to a district, and the district to a province." True, there have been sanguinary and disastrous wars; true, the English have had to take the most prominent part in them; but those wars were rarely, if at all, undertaken against the natives, and, what is more important, they never arose originally for the acquisition of territory, although in most instances they have ended in such acquisition. Almost all these wars took place between the English and other foreigners desirous, like them, of establishing supremacy in the land. Such of them as were with the natives began on the part of the English for the preservation of territory already acquired by peaceful means. Time was in their favour. What the result would have been if the English had followed the general rule of colonization, and attempted to exercise their sway over the whole country all at once, would now be an idle speculation. As events have turned out, their progress was gradual. In course of time province after province fell into their hands. Their first settlement, undertaken with hesitation and doubt as to its ultimate success, began to change its character with favourable circumstances. The two rival companies which existed in England in 1708 for the purpose of East India traffic, were amalgamated, and became the basis for, though they ultimately gave way to, the famous East India Company.¹ The latter became "invested," in Lord Palmerston's words,² "with vast commercial privileges, and with most important political functions. This state of things continued up to the year 1784, when there was an infusion of responsibility in respect of its political administrative functions into the affairs of the Company, by the establishment of the Board of Control. Matters went on for a number of years, during which the Company continued, subject to a slight interference from the Board of Control, to discharge its political functions, and at the same time to exercise all its commercial rights, &c. In the year 1833, the Company altogether ceased to be a commercial association, and became but a phantom of its original body. It lost the commercial character for which it was originally founded, and continued to be merely a political instrument by means of which the administration of India was carried on," till at last, in the year 1858, it became altogether extinct, so far, at least, as the government of the country is concerned. In that year an Act of

¹ Stephen's Blackstone, ed. 1863, vol. i. p. 112.

² See the Speech quoted *ante*.

Parliament was passed which transferred the government to the immediate charge of the Crown, and relieved the East India Company from any further trouble about it. "This Act was soon afterwards followed," says Mr. Stephen,¹ "by a proclamation of the Queen in Council, to the princes, chiefs, and people of India, in which, under the description the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and of Ireland and of the colonies and dependencies thereof, in Europe, Asia, America, and Australia, she claimed their allegiance." That allegiance, it is needless to remark, was freely given, and India is now governed directly by Her Majesty, under the provisions of the statute I have already referred to, and of several others which were passed subsequently, but with which we have no concern here.²

I have said that these various changes in the government of India are very curious. The fact of so many changes of government in one country taking place in the space of a century only would alone be sufficient to excite most intense curiosity; but when we consider that all these changes have severally taken place without any movement on the part of the people, that one form of government gave place to another almost unknown to and totally uncared for by the people, curiosity would seem to arrive at its point of culmination. I do not mean by "people" simply the mass of ignorant men belonging to the poorer classes of society. If these alone had not interested themselves in the principles of the government of India, it would not be a matter of wonder. But the educated and the richer classes—the princes, nobles, and gentry—all of whom I include in the word "people," were no wiser than the uneducated and the poor. Not one of the former asked, much less agitated for the changes; not one raised a word either for or against them; not one demanded a reason for them. They were all perfectly apathetic. One form of government was, in their eyes, as good as another. Whether the Board of Control checked the Company, or whether the Company combined political and commercial functions in their own person, seemed to them unimportant questions; and, perhaps, anticipating the futility of any interference on their part, they patiently submitted. What, then, are the causes of these changes? It would be absurd to suppose that English ministers, with all their time taken up

¹ Stephen's *Blackstone*, ed. 1868, vol. i. p. 116.

² See 21 & 22 Vict. c. 106, sec. 1; 22 & 23 Vict. c. 41; 24 & 25 Vict. c. 67; and 24 & 25 Vict. c. 104.

in home affairs, needlessly brought them about, especially as in so doing they had to run imminent risk of losing power, and, in some instances, did lose their power. There must have been grave causes for their action; and the first that strikes one is the change in the nature of English possessions in India. This, indeed, is a very important cause, but it is not the only one. The principal cause, I think, lies deeper from the surface. It is internal decay in the different forms of government which brought about the changes. All these were adopted, one after another, by way of speculation. English statesmen suddenly found themselves masters of a vast country, inhabited by different species of the human race, all with conflicting interests. They had, in forming a government, to steer clear of these, as also to take care of their own interests, which necessarily clashed with the interests of the people, discordant though they were in themselves. Lovers of precedent, more particularly of precedent hallowed by antiquity, they searched into history for one by which to guide their conduct, but in vain. They were thus left to themselves, and consequently had to invent the best form of government suitable to the peculiar circumstances of the case. When one form failed, another was devised, and so on a third and a fourth. That all these changes were speculations may be inferred from their provisional character. Not one was intended to be permanent. In all the statutes making the changes there is to be found a clause limiting their duration to twenty years or so. After the expiration of the twenty years, or even before, a new arrangement would be made, if the old ones did not succeed (and they do not seem ever to have succeeded), and it is therefore abundantly clear that internal decay gave rise to all the changes in the Indian government of England.

The framers of the present constitution of British India intend it to be a more permanent one than its predecessors. They call it a reform of the old system, "which," as Lord Stanley puts it,¹ "will lead to other reforms, and without which those other reforms could not be so easily or conveniently carried out."

It will be the object of this paper to consider—

1. Whether there is the germ of permanence in the new constitution of India; and if not,
2. Is it possible to have a permanent government for India?

¹ Speech of Lord Stanley on the second reading of his India Bill, 1858. Hansard, cl. 306.

3. Are the people of India capable of understanding representative government? And

4. Would it be practicable to give them representative government without danger to the British supremacy in the country, and without retarding the progress of the people?

I ought, perhaps, to explain exactly what I mean by asking whether a constitution has the germ of permanence in it when it is supported by the power and prestige of England. So long as England continues strong enough to keep India, any constitution which she will bestow upon her must necessarily be co-existent with her power, whatever its merits or demerits might be. In this sense, there is no doubt the present constitution of India is permanent. But the question assumes quite a different aspect, when we consider whether or not this constitution possesses the attributes which would realise the intentions expressed on all bands for the good government of India.¹ It is an admitted fact that no government of India can be called good, which does not endeavour to develop the resources of the country; to make it more profitable to England; and, what is equally, if not more important than the two preceding objects, to aid in the mental, moral, and material improvement of the people. Protection from foreign invasion, and civil war, and from such casualties or acts of God, as the law calls them, as could be provided against by timely means, of course forms part of its duties. If the present constitution does not possess the wherewith to carry out these important and most desirable results, then I maintain it cannot possibly be permanent. If, on the other hand, there are to be found such attributes in it, my position is of course untenable, and any attempt to disturb the settlement will be productive, if of no evil, at least of no good.

In the absence of mature experience on the subject it is no doubt very

¹ Even King George III. expressed anxiety for the good government of India: In the speech from the Throne on the occasion of the opening of Parliament on the 11th of November, 1788, he is made to say: "The situation of the East India Company will require the utmost exertions of your wisdom to maintain and improve the valuable advantages derived from our Indian possessions, and to promote and secure the happiness of the native inhabitants of these provinces."—See Knight's "Popular History of England," Pictorial edit., 1861, vol. vii. p. 137.

In 1783, a Select Committee of the House of Commons sat to solve the following question relating to India: "How the British possessions in the East India may be held and governed with the greatest security and advantage to this country; and by what means the happiness of the native inhabitants may be best secured."—*Ibid.*

difficult to state positively which of the two alternatives mentioned above is the correct one. The constitution of 1858 has been in existence only for about nine years, and its effects, whether for good or evil, have not been much felt. It would require more time to develop any good it is capable of, or to bring out the evil it may work. But there is a criterion by which we may, with tolerable certainty, anticipate its effects, and that is, a comparison between our present constitution and its predecessors. Now as regards the people of India, the present constitution does not differ in any material and essential points from that which was in existence before.¹ The same system of government, with the exception of the new councils for the purpose of making laws and regulations, prevails in India as before—everything in fact is as of old, only the Government officials, instead of being responsible to the East India Company, are now under the direct supervision of the crown and parliament, and the Company have given way to the Indian Secretary in the pleasant occupation of being either plaintiff or defendant in actions and suits for or against the Government. Even as regards the power of supervision by Parliament, there has been little or no change from the former system. For then, as now, there was a responsible member of the Government of the day in England, a member of Parliament; then, as now, he was answerable, along, of course, with the directors of the Company, for maladministration of India to the English public; then, as now, he had a large influence in Indian affairs. The only change that has taken place in this respect is that he has altered his name from the President of the Board of Control to the Secretary of State for India; that instead of urging the directors of the East India Company on to do what was thought necessary for the good of the country, and preventing them from doing what would have a contrary effect, he now directly communicates with the officials in India; and that his patronage has vastly increased. But whether or not these can be considered essential differences, they only apply to the government of India in Victoria Street. They do not affect the natives at all, and I contend therefore that the causes, so far as the natives are concerned, which led to the failure of the former government are still in operation, and may undermine the present one.²

¹ A writer in *Fraser's Magazine* for December, 1865, takes the same view of this change. He says: "The local government is to all intents and purposes the same as it was formerly."

² I am aware that the policy of the Government towards the people of India has become a little conciliatory, but this does not affect the argument, as will appear from the sequel.

These causes are many and various. To enumerate them all *seriatim*, would be the work of a long time, but if I mention a few of the principal ones, my proposition will be fully borne out.¹

The first is the utter want of sympathy with which the natives, except of course a very limited number of the more educated among them, regard all matters connected with the constitution and the government of the country generally. This is a great drawback to the fulfilment of the most important condition for the good government of India—the improvement of the mental, moral,² and material condition of the people. It is most difficult, if not absolutely impossible, to improve a people without substantial help from them. This difficulty exists even when the people are your “own flesh and blood,” and it must be greatly more so when they are not your own flesh and blood; when they are on the contrary totally different from you, speaking a variety of different languages, professing different religions, thinking different thoughts, with different sympathies, different aspirations, and different modes of life altogether. Would not the difficulty appear almost insurmountable? And such is the difficulty which the present constitution of India has to labour under to effect one of its chief ends.

It is only fair to my countrymen to remark that this apathy does not proceed from any voluntary action on their part. They would interest themselves if they could, but the fact is they do not understand anything as to what is going on—not from defective understanding, not entirely through ignorance, but through having been thoroughly bewildered at the revolutions that have passed over the country. There is a feeling prevalent that the present state of things will not continue long. From father to son this belief is religiously held. And this not from any hatred of the English rule, or from any other motive which can be hurtful to the Government. There is also a general feeling of uneasiness—at what, nobody can explain; but the feeling is widely spread, and people live on like so many automata. The secret of all this is, as I said before, the utter state of bewilderment in which the people have

¹ Almost all the causes here referred to proceed from the following candid confession of Lord Macaulay: “It is by coercion, it is by the sword, and not by free stipulation of the governed, that England rules India.”—Macaulay’s Essays, *Critique on Gladstone on Church and State*, People’s edit., vol. ii. p. 67.

² I do not regard my countrymen as deficient in morality; but what I mean is their social condition, which is admittedly in want of improvement, and which I have preferred to call their “moral condition.”

found themselves. Though accustomed to be governed by despots, even merciless despots, having no active voice in national matters, they, while in the hands of native rulers, at least understood and appreciated or detested, as the case might be, the instincts by which the latter were actuated. They could tell then that, given a certain state of things, certain sequences would follow. They knew what was coming, and had time to prepare themselves for it. But now they are like fish out of water. They do not understand the instincts of their rulers. Legislation is so multiplying upon them, without there being first a public demand for it, that they can get no resting-place. Laws connected with the revenue, the land, and the administration of justice, are thrust upon them with feverish haste. To-day there is this tax to pay, to-morrow there is that tax to pay. Under one law, a piece of land belongs to the landlord, the next day another law is passed which makes it the property of the tenant. Courts of justice are moved about from locality to locality, and thousands and thousands of righteous causes are defeated through want of jurisdiction of the courts caused by the changes. Add to all this, the peculiar jargon in which the acts are framed. The English they are composed in is almost untranslatable, and when they are translated at Government expense they become utterly unintelligible. It has been urged, and urged with reason, that all this is inevitable. A country governed by foreigners must expect inconveniences of the nature I have been discussing. But is there not any chance of mitigating the "inevitable?" Cannot the country be so governed by foreigners as to command the sympathy of the people? I am convinced it can, and the course of this paper will show how.

Another cause why the present constitution of India cannot be permanent is, that it owes no responsibility to the people. In fact, it has no responsibility at all. Parliament is supposed to superintend the operations of the Government of India; but this superintendence is more nominal than real.¹ Of the 658 members, hardly twenty have ever seen the country, and those who have seen the country know little of the people. We all have heard of the state of the House of Commons when questions relating to India come on for discussion. Members

¹ A late very eminent writer says: "The Company, and indeed any branch of the Indian administration in Europe can do little *directly* for India: *they are far too distant for much direct administration.*" The Italics are mine.—Miscellaneous Works of Sir James Mackintosh. Longman: ed. 1854, vol. ii. p. 564.

take no interest in them, and are satisfied with what the Government tell them. The press in this country, in the same way, trust more to what emanates from the India Office than from private individuals. It is only when the Government have so mismanaged any matter that their own despatches testify to their carelessness or want of good faith, or arbitrariness, that any notice is taken of it. Then, again, despatches are relied upon as if they were the productions of inspired writers. The facts stated in them are taken for granted, and made the basis of criticisms ; but as to the correctness of the facts no question is raised. It is thus quite clear that this Parliamentary responsibility is all a sham and a delusion.¹ But suppose this were not so ; suppose Parliament and the press knew more about Indian affairs, the result, as far as the people of India are concerned, would be the same. It is an old maxim, and one which has always been considered to be the essence of good government, that the governors should conform to the nature of the governed ;² but this, under the present government of India, is impossible. You do not know their wants ; you cannot possibly sympathize with them. You could not anticipate their wishes if you even wished to do so, and how is it then possible for you to direct the machinery of state so as to make your rule beneficial to the country ?

Then, again, the jealousy that exists, and must necessarily exist, between the governors and the governed. However virtuous and good the intentions of the former might be, the slightest indiscretion would subject them to the unfavourable judgment of the latter. Every one knows how difficult it is to make oneself properly understood when the business of the person, who is to understand you, lies in misunderstanding, and to make such misunderstanding the basis of complaint or

¹ Mr. John Stuart Mill thus speaks of responsibility of the governors to the governed : "A governing class not accountable to the people are sure in the main to sacrifice the people to the pursuit of separate interests and inclinations of their own. Even their feelings of morality, even their ideas of excellence have reference, not to the good of the people, but to their own good : their very virtues are class virtues, their noblest acts of patriotism and self-devotion are but the sacrifice of their private interests to the interests of their class."—"Dissertations and Discussions," ed. 1859, vol. i. p. 471.

² "I governi debbon essere conformi alla natura degli nomini governati."—Vico, Works, vol. v. p. 109. See Heron's History of Jurisprudence, ed. 1860, p. 550—574.

reproach. It will not be denied that, instead of any attempt being made to make the people understand the motives of the English Government, actions have been taken, unconsciously no doubt, which have had a contrary effect. Notwithstanding what Parliament may choose to think, the whole government of the country must remain in the hands of the officials in India. Upon their conduct alone, the verdict for or against the Government must depend. Many of them are very kind and wisely conciliatory to the natives ; but there are men who assert their undoubted superiority with rough hands, and they spoil the good effects produced by the former. I am prepared to make every allowance for these gentlemen. They go out to India with exaggerated notions of the people. Even those who go with some notions as to the actual state of the people, cannot, before their arrival, realise to themselves the condition they are in. Their dress, their manner, their seeming obsequiousness, bring them out in sed colours before the new arrivals. The servants cannot assert moral courage enough to contradict their masters when wrong. Altogether, in a comparison with European civilization, the natives of India come out very unfavourably, and are despised. Some do not despise them, but treat them with a sort of patronising friendliness, half contemptuous, ten thousand times worse than the open hatred of the others. All this, of course, is to be put down to the "inevitable ;" but it none the less contributes to the half-heartedness of the natives in matters connected with the administration of the country. It is a reproach against them that they do not assist in the preservation of peace : that they will stand by and see robberies committed ; that then, when called upon, they would not come forward to assist the prosecution in such cases. I do not know upon what valid evidence these charges are founded. They appear to me to be over-coloured and "untrue in essentials." But assuming they are true, the fact forcibly brings home to us the truth that the paternal despotism which now regulates the destinies of India, is unsuited to the people. I shall only state a truism, and that a very old one, when I say that no government can possibly be successful which does not possess the active confidence of the people, and their sincere co-operation. I trust I have made it manifest to you that the present government does not possess either the one or the other, and that therefore it cannot possibly be successful in the sense I have stated. Then comes the question, Can there be found any government which will be successful in this way ? In other words

—and we come to the second division of my subject—Is it possible to have a permanent government for India?

To this question I have not the least hesitation in returning an answer positively in the affirmative. A government which will ask, not simple obedience, but active duties from the people; which will make them feel that they have some interest in their country; which will check the notions now so widely prevalent, that the common people of India are born to minister to the welfare of their betters, and for no other purpose; which will, above all, develop and bring into action their humanity, must be successful. It will possess all the ingredients which a good government ought to possess. It will appeal not to the fear, but to the patriotism and love of the people. It will be based, not upon their passive assent, but active sympathies. It will, by taking them into council before making any laws, invest them with a more than personal interest in their preservation. It will, by giving them a person directly responsible to them to interpret their views and expose their grievances, make them feel that they will have a fair hearing, and therefore take away from them all cause for grumbling. It will, also, win their gratitude by flattering them in a point tender in all human beings, self-love, and that by telling them what they will say for the benefit of their country, will at least receive fair consideration. I need hardly say that this form of government is representative government; and I now proceed to consider the third part of my subject, which is—Are the people of India capable of understanding representative government?

Ever since the growth of the importance of the Indian Empire, English statesmen have speculated in various ways as to a good form of government for the country; but I do not find much mention of their having considered whether representative government would be more suitable to it. There is only a passing allusion to the subject in Lord Macaulay's speech on the Government of India, in the House of Commons, in July, 1833. He, however, summarily dismisses it from his mind and says¹: “In India you cannot have representative institutions. Of all the innumerable speculators who have offered their suggestions on Indian politics, not a single one, as far as I know, however democratical his opinions may be, has ever mentioned the possibility of giving at the present time (1833)² such institutions to

¹ “Lord Macaulay's Speeches,” Longman; 1863, p. 135.

² The condition of the people now (1867) does not seem to have improved much.

India. One gentleman, extremely well acquainted with our Indian Empire, a most valuable servant of the Company, and the author of a History of India, which though not certainly not free from faults, is I think on the whole the greatest historical book which has appeared in our language since that of Gibbon—I mean, Mr. Mill—was examined on this point. That gentleman is well known to be a bold and uncompromising politician. He has written strongly, far too strongly, I think, in favour of pure democracy. He has gone so far as to maintain that no nation which has not a representative legislature, chosen by universal suffrage, enjoys security against oppression. But when he was asked before the Committee of last year whether he thought representative government practicable in India, his answer was, ‘Utterly out of the question.’ This then is the state in which we are. We have to frame a good government for a country where, by universal acknowledgment, we cannot introduce those institutions which all our habits, which all the reasoning of European philosophers, which all the history of our own part of the world would lead us to consider, as the one great security for good government.” I fail to see on what grounds Mr. Mill is here represented to have pronounced so strongly against representative government for India; nor do I understand why Lord Macaulay, who is supposed by his admirers to have been a philosopher, should base his opposition to it on what he calls “universal acknowledgment.” If Lord Macaulay and Mr. Mill can be admitted to represent the universe, still “universal acknowledgment” does not present to us the truth of the gospel. It is often founded upon erroneous notions of fact and inference, and is a very unsafe guide. Lord Macaulay knew this as well as anybody; and yet we are told, without the production of any other reason whatever, without even the shadow of an attempt at argument, that there can be no representative government for India. The fact is, that Englishmen, even at the present day, hardly know the natives of India well enough really to understand what they are and what they are not capable of. Both Mr. Mill and Lord Macaulay had a decided bias against them, and this, coupled with their want of knowledge of the people, launched them in the opinion they entertained on this subject; and like all persons who form their opinions on imperfect knowledge, they have expressed themselves in very strong language. How far Englishmen know the natives of India may be collected from Mr. Wheeler’s excellent History of India.¹

¹ “History of India,” by J. Talboys Wheeler: Trübner, 1867, vol. i. p. 2.

In the introduction to it, he says, "Englishmen who have passed the greater part of their lives in India would yet find it difficult to draw up an imaginary dialogue between two Hindús, which should approximate to truth. Even Oriental scholars who have familiarized themselves with the stores of Brahminical learning are but partially acquainted with the thoughts of the many millions who are living under British rule." And in a note he further goes on to say as follows: "The extent to which European residents in India are ignorant of the domestic life of the Hindús was thus indicated by Lord William Bentinck, sixty years ago, and the conditions specified are at least as true in the present day: 'The result of my own observation during my residence in India is, that the Europeans generally know nothing of the customs and manners of the Hindús. We are all acquainted with some prominent marks and facts, which all who run may read; but their manner of thinking, their domestic habits and ceremonies, in which circumstances a knowledge of the people consists, is, I fear, greatly wanting to us. We understand very imperfectly their language. They, perhaps, know more of ours; but their knowledge is by no means sufficiently extensive to give a description of subjects not easily represented by the insulated words in daily use.¹ We do not, we cannot, associate with the natives and their families. We are necessarily very much confined to our houses by the heat. All our wants and business which would create a greater intercourse with the natives is done for us, and we are in fact strangers in the land.'" Whether this is a faithful picture or not, Europeans will be better able to judge than myself. But I will mention a fact which more than any other checks a better understanding of the natives. I mean, that no European goes out to India with the intention of permanently residing in the country. They live there as in a field for their enterprise, with the hope of returning to England, and they therefore (at least the majority of them) do not care to understand the people more than what would suffice for their own purposes. I do not bring forward this fact in any spirit of complaint. It is another instance of the "inevitable." Under these circumstances, I contend Lord Macaulay's opinion ought to have no weight in this question, relating, as it exclusively does, to the capacity of the people. The doctrine also that all nations are not made for representative government, may be dis-

¹ This does not seem to be true at the present day with respect to the educated classes.

regarded. I never yet knew a nation made for any one thing in particular. Institutions come to us by use, and not by intuition or Divine gift. It will be very bold for any one to say that when Mr. Disraeli first proposed to bring in a Reform bill this session the nation was prepared for household suffrage, "pure and simple," and yet a bill for household suffrage has passed, and I have no doubt will be productive of great good to this country. In introducing new institutions to a country we must follow the doctrine of "trying it on." Then again, we must not mind what some say, that the people must be ripe for representative government before such a form of government can be established. In the case of India, if the ripeness is left to the determination of those who are resolved not to give it to her, our people will never be ripe enough.

If I can show that the people of India in their present state answer all the conditions required by the writers on representative government, I shall be entitled to ask for this particular form of government on their behalf. These conditions are—¹

- "(a) That the people should be willing to receive it.
- "(b) That they should be willing and able to do what is necessary for its preservation. And
- "(c) That they should be willing and able to fulfil the duties and discharge the functions which it imposes on them."

There are other minor conditions, such as that the people must know the first lesson of civilization, that of obedience; that they must not be extremely passive, and pay ready submission to tyranny.²

With regard to the first principal condition, Mr. Mill says,³ "The willingness of the people to representative government only becomes a practical question, when an enlightened ruler, or a foreign nation or nations who have gained power over the country, are disposed to offer it the boon. To individual reformers the question is almost irrelevant, since, if no other objection can be made to their enterprise than that the opinion of the nation is not yet on their side, they have the ready and proper answer that to bring it over to their side is the very end they aim at." All the remaining conditions, more or less, relate to the capacity of the people,

¹ See Mill's "Considerations on Representative Government," 3d edit. Longman, 1865, p. 71.

² See Mill on Representative Government.

³ Ibid

and I shall treat them together. There are many circumstances which denote the capacity of a people for any one thing.—tradition,¹ modes of thought, experience and so on. Now all these combine to show that the people of India understand self-government, and self-government seems to be the same thing as, or at least the foundation for, representative government. There exists at the present day, and it has existed for centuries and centuries, a system of government in India adopted for the village communities which is self-government *par excellence*—I mean the system of *punchayets*. This system has been spoken of in terms of the highest commendation by many writers of the first order of merit. So firmly is it rooted in the country that it is almost indestructible, for, says Mr. Maine,² “conquests and revolutions seem to have swept over it without disturbing or displacing it, and the most beneficent systems of government in India have always been those which have recognised it as the basis of administration.” It will take me a long time to speak in detail of the system. I shall endeavour to give only its salient points. It divides the country into townships, each of which is inhabited by single communities,³ and has for its head a person called the Mondal, elected for life (sometimes the post is hereditary) by, it would seem, universal suffrage.⁴ The Mondal—or headman, as he used to be in the time of the native kings—is thus described by the late Mr. Elphinstone:—“He is the representative of the people. His selection rests sometimes with the village community, and oftener with the government; but to be useful to either he must possess the confidence of both. He holds a portion of land, and receives an annual allowance from the government; but the greater part of his income is derived from fees paid by the villagers. So far is he identified with the village, that he is held responsible for its engagements, and thrown into prison in all cases of resistance or failure of the revenue.

“He settles with the government the sum to be paid to it for the year; and apportions the payment among the villagers according to the extent and tenures of their lands. He also lets such lands as have no fixed occupants, partitions the water for irrigation, settles disputes, apprehends offenders, and sends them to the government office of the district; and in short, does all the duties of municipal government.

¹ See Mr. Disraeli's Speech on the third reading of his Reform Bill, 1867.

² Maine's “Ancient Law,” Murray, 1861, p. 261.

³ Elphinstone's “History of India,” 4th edit., 1857, p. 62.

⁴ *Ibid*

"All this is done in public, at a place appropriated for the purpose ; and on all points affecting the public interest, in free consultation with the villagers. In civil disputes the headman is assisted by arbitrators named by the parties, or by assessors of his own choice. His office confers a great deal of respectability with all the country people, as well as influence in his own village. It is saleable ; but the owner seldom parts with it entirely, reserving the right of presiding at certain ceremonies and other honorary privileges, when compelled to dispose of all the solid advantages.

"Each township conducts its own internal affairs. It levies on its members the revenue due to the state ; and is collectively responsible for the payment of the full amount. It manages its police, and is answerable for any property plundered within its limits. It administers justice to its own members, as far as punishing small offences, and deciding disputes in the first instance. It taxes itself, to provide funds for its internal expenses, such as repairs of the walls and temple, and the cost of public sacrifices and charities, as well as of some ceremonies and amusements on festivals."

At the present day the village communities have, of course, lost much of their power. But the feelings which it gave rise to are still to be found among the people in all their ancient strength. Secret assemblies of this description are to be found all over the country, sad relics of their former grandeur, but serving to hand down the ideas connected with them, and preserving their traditional memory. It will thus be seen that the natives of India possess instincts of self-government, and it is fair to suppose, until at least a trial is given them, that they will understand representative government.

I confess it forms no part of my design to deny that nationality, in the strictest sense of the term, does not exist in India. It is perfectly true that we possess what Signor Mazzini calls "a multitude, a fortuitous agglomeration of men, whom circumstances have called together, and whom circumstances may again divide."¹ But all our differences proceed from one main cause—religion. It is religion which divides the people of India, and is such a barrier to their union, that had it not been for other extenuating circumstances, the idea of their unity would be all but chimerical. This, however, may be boldly said for them, that such differences are to be found all over the world. There is no country

¹ "Duties of Man," by Joseph Mazzini. Chapman & Hall, 1862, p. 92.

where there is one unanimous feeling among the people on any one subject. And after the example that is daily sent across to us from the other side of the Irish Channel ; after what is taught by the Whalleys, and the Murphys, and the Bowyers, it is surely unfair, if not absurd, to deny the people of India the right of representation, because, forsooth, they have different religions as among themselves, and consequently different interests, so far as these interests are affected by religion. The differences also are seen to be materially toned down by the want of the spirit of proselytism among the different religionists. The Mahomedan no longer travels about with the sword in one hand and the Koran in the other ; the Brahmin no longer attempts the destruction of the Buddha. Every section of the people has learnt the philosophic fact, that religion is a matter which concerns only the conscience of the individual. The only party who have yet to learn the rudiments of this fact are the missionaries, but with them I have no concern here. Granting, however, that these differences exist in all their rigour, that simply proves that there will be different parties in the representative assembly. The existence of such parties may or may not be beneficial, but they do exist in the West with no great detriment to the public welfare, and at least before we have tried them in the East, they ought not to be held up as objections which are fatal to the cause of the people.

It is a mistake to suppose that the natives of India have no points of union and common feeling among them. They are doubtless very jealous of one another. As a recent writer truly remarks,¹ "the Mahomedan will fight against the Hindoo, the Mahratta against the Bengalee, the Sikh against the Hindooostani, with as much animosity as the English against the French." But there are causes which would unite all these contending parties, and make a common and harmonious and homogeneous whole of them, and they will fight together. Their antagonism to Christianity would seem to be one of these. Besides, in times of national trouble or calamity they all unite and make joint demonstrations. Even in political matters they are able to, and have made common cause, as is exemplified in the *personnel* of the misguided rebels of 1857. They are, no doubt, a great deal influenced by their chiefs and masters, and priests, but they are not such absolute slaves as they are imagined to be in this country ; they have a voice of their own in many matters ; and

¹ "Domestic Life of the Natives of India," by James Kerr, M.A. London : W. H. Allen & Co., 1865.

when, therefore, I say that a union of two chiefs would be a complete union of their followers, I trust it will not be urged that the followers would return these chiefs to the Representative Assembly, simply through their attachment for them. When disputes arise regarding their property, or regarding anything in which their family are concerned, they never go to their chiefs for arbitration, but to the village authorities, who decide in the manner before mentioned. If they can fight together against a common enemy, suffer together under a common calamity, together take steps to arrest such calamity, even combining in prayer to God, there surely can be no valid reason why they should not come together to the polling-booth and vote for the good of their common country. All that they want is to be made to feel that they are somebody in the country, that they have some interest in it, and that they are not born, as I said before, simply for the sake of ministering to the ease of their betters ; and I will undertake to say that they will then make as honest and patriotic a set of electors as any to be found in the world. The misfortune hitherto has been that the existence of the people was altogether ignored. Every possible means was adopted by the richer classes to instil the belief into their minds that they have no concern with the state. If a poor man was found to take interest in anything beyond his immediate position, his so-called superiors checked him at once. There is a saying in Bengal, senseless and nonsensical in the extreme, the mention of which is enough to extinguish the most burning ardour. It is that "a common retailer has no business with the shipping intelligence," in other words, a little man should take no interest in big affairs ; and I suppose to a little retailer the shipping intelligence is a big affair. I should not be at all surprised if there were unmeaning and mischievous sayings as these all over India. Well, the result of such teachings is more easily imagined than described. The Government flatter themselves that they have *conciliated the whole body* of the natives, when they have only conciliated the richer classes of them. This is not so. There is, perhaps, more difference between the richer and poorer classes of the natives in India, than there is between the Jews and the Arabs. I defy any rich man of India (who has not mixed with the people, and very few have), to say that he truly represents the feelings of the people, even those living on his own estate.

To understand the people, you must go to them direct. You will then find that they possess a remarkable degree of intelligence. They are

equal to any task, but the task must not be imposed on them with a high hand. They must be properly treated. If they are trusted in any way, however slight, their gratitude knows no bounds, and a sense of responsibility so works upon them that they are sure to execute any commission entrusted to them with great care and skill. This sense of responsibility on their part, it is, which will ensure representative government a thorough success in the country. I do not mean to deny that their education is very defective—in fact they might be said to possess no education at all, if we measure education by a European standard. But compared to their richer countrymen, who are, there can be no doubt whatever, thoroughly capable of appreciating representative government, they are not a whit less educated than the lowest householders compared to the educated classes in this country. The common people of India may not be able to understand Sanskrita, or explain the bearings of the Sankhya philosophy, but in common walks of life they are as shrewd and careful as possible. They are neither extravagant nor intemperate ; they are neither migratory nor dissipated. They are as a rule family men, labouring hard to maintain themselves in comfort if not in affluence. These qualities may not be the result of a very extensive education, but they at least show that the men who possess them, though even unable to read and write, are honest men—men who have practical common-sense, who understand what is best for their own interests, not selfishly, but with due consideration for all about them, both high and low,¹ and therefore, who may be supposed to understand the interests of their country. If anybody could be trusted with the franchise, surely these would be the men. If these considerations are not sufficient—I mean, if they do not prove that the people of India are not ignorant, I am not afraid to take my stand on their very ignorance, and argue in the words of the greatest jurist of modern times in England—I mean the late Mr. Jabez Austin. He asks :² “In a political community, not duly instructed, is not popular government, with all its awkward complexness, less inconvenient than monarchy ? And, unless the government be popular, can a political community, not duly instructed, emerge from darkness to light ? From the ignorance of political science, which is the principal cause of misrule, to the knowledge of political science, which

¹ Many instances can be adduced where the people have voluntarily jeopardized their own interests for the sake of their sovereign.

² J. Austin's “Jurisprudence,” 2d edit., p. 254.

were the best security against it?" I see no reason whatever why the people of India are not capable of understanding and exercising the functions which naturally inhere in subjects possessing a representative government.

There is no time to discuss the particular way in which India should have representation and its details. Many suggestions have been made on the subject,¹ requiring deep consideration. My opinion is that there ought to be a representative assembly and a senate sitting in India, with a power of veto to the governor-general, but under the same restriction as exists in America, with perhaps an absolute power of veto to the Crown.

I now come to the fourth part of my subject. This does not require any lengthened consideration, especially after what has been already said. With the power of veto, and, say, the military in their hands, the British Government would run no risk in India if they gave representative institutions to that country. On the contrary, by their gracious act they will have built a foundation for their power in the hearts of the people, which will remain intact for ever; and if England finds it to her interest to withdraw from India of her own accord at any future time she will have the satisfaction of having made disjointed bands of men into one vast nation, inhabiting one vast country, talking one language, and marching onward to the goal of civilization in company with the nations of Europe and the United States.

In conclusion, I should be wanting in my duty to myself as a friend to, but not an abject flatterer of, English rule in India, and to my country, if I did not state my firm conviction that this question of representative government for India is one of vast importance—vaster far to the rulers than to the ruled. Whatever may be the prestige of the English Government, however secure its power generally may be, strong as it is to put down internal revolt, its dominion in India cannot possibly be free from danger so long as it does not possess the active confidence and sincere co-operation of the people. Hitherto the English have been exceedingly fortunate, for there have been no attacks upon them from without. All the battles they have fought within the last fifty years arose in the country, and that at times when England was not embroiled in war with any other equally powerful country. But suppose (and I may be allowed to express a hope that the supposition may always

remain in the region of hypothesis) a foreign power were to attack India, and a domestic insurrection were to arise in the country simultaneously : with Ireland distracted, with the United States in anything but a gracious humour, can there be much doubt as to the result? Not to travel a long way back, look at the execrable mutiny of 1857. If the ringleaders had managed matters better, had called for the assistance of some foreign state ambitious of dominion in the East ; and if, say, for instance, a Russian fleet and a Russian army had assisted them, though I feel sure our Government would have been victorious in the end, yet I cannot conceal from myself the fact that the victory would have been purchased at a very heavy price. And is it so absolutely certain that this simultaneous attack is chimerical? Are the people of India so very much enamoured of the British rule that, instead of rising in rebellion at the time of a foreign attack, they would assist in repelling the invader? Do they know sufficiently of the humane and civilizing principles supposed to underlie the Colonial government of England so as to be able to distinguish the evil principles of arbitrary government, say of Russia, and so as to desire, through entire conviction, to remain under the former? Are the germs of insurrection so fully weeded out of the country as not to appear again? Is it impossible to imagine that the cause of the submission of the people may be other than love of their rulers? Does not the presence of the English army in the country in some measure account for their want of hostility? Is it not the fact that great distrust prevails in the country? And is not this fact evidenced by the panic that was produced by the lucubrations of a maniac at Meerut? I shall leave the English public to answer these questions as they like. With regard to the princes and the educated classes of India, I have not the least hesitation in saying that they are thoroughly sincere in their professions of attachment to the English. They understand the good intentions of the Government, and they are grateful. But it must not be forgotten that these form only a drop in the vast ocean of people who inhabit the country. It is perfectly true they possess great influence over their countrymen, and can guide them as they like. But this is so only on ordinary occasions. There are moments when the strongest political, social, and religious attachments are disregarded, as if they had never existed. History records not a few instances of most trusted leaders being discarded through fanaticism and political jealousy. It was only the other day that an English officer found it impossible to

keep some of the soldiers under his command from committing excesses at a riot in Ireland, though he tried his best to do so.

It may be urged that no danger threatens us now, and that we have no necessity to reconsider the form of the British Indian Government. This objection I shall answer in the words of Mr. Burke.¹ In my opinion we ought not to wait for the fruitless instruction of calamity, "to inquire into abuses which bring upon us ruin, &c. &c." The present is the most opportune time for recasting the Government of India. The great question of Parliamentary Reform in this country is settled. England is at peace with all her neighbours. The monetary panic has long since subsided. There is absolutely nothing to engage the minds of our statesmen, except perhaps thorough domestic reform. And what question can therefore be more deserving of their attention than this, which concerns the safety and well-being of a vast empire? I repeat once more, for any government of India to be successful it must possess the active confidence of the people, and their sincere co-operation. In the words of Mr. Gladstone,² "the attachment of the people to the Throne, the institutions and the laws under which they live, is, after all, more than gold or silver, and more than fleets and armies—at once the strength, the glory, and the safety of the land."

CAPTAIN POWLETT said that he could not agree with Mr. Bonnerjee in believing that representative government could be immediately introduced into India, but he thought that something might be done in that direction by the hearty encouragement of municipal institutions. He had hoped that Mr. Bonnerjee would have said something about the working of the municipalities of the Presidency towns; Captain Powlett believing that the native members of these municipalities were educated men, and they were directed and stimulated by the European element among them. But in the non-Regulation provinces there were numerous municipalities, or municipal committees composed entirely of uneducated natives, who were merely assisted by the district officers. The members were not nominees of Government, but in most cases fairly elected by their townsmen, and the committees were reported in a statement laid before Parliament, to be on the whole

¹ Speech on the Nabob of Arcot's debts.

² Speeches of the Right Honourable W. E. Gladstone. Murray, 1867.

working well. They were heartily encouraged by the authorities in the Punjab and the Central Provinces ; but in the Regulation provinces the subject had not received the attention it deserved. If municipal committees could be satisfactorily introduced in the Punjab, there seemed no reason why they should not be set going in the older provinces ; but he knew of large towns in the north-west, where they did not exist. He thought, with a view to further discussion, it would be well if the managing committee were to obtain a list of all the towns in India where municipal committees had been established, and to ascertain how far election of members, in contradistinction to nomination, was resorted to.

Mr. ZORN—It requires a unison, and that unison now, to a very great extent, does exist—a unison of desire on the part of the rulers as well as of the ruled, to introduce representative government, and we may confidently expect that the rulers of this country would lend their hands to any practical scheme that could be suggested, with a view to fitting the people for the exercise of the privilege. The compulsory system of education, which works so well in Germany, could be advantageously introduced. It does not interfere with religious prejudices—it is not opposed to religion, nor does it favour any religion. I have often been struck with the great reluctance which exists in various countries to profit by the experience which other countries have gained. I was over in America for some time, and the Americans often surprised me by trying to introduce something perfectly new, whilst, if they had only taken the trouble to read the history of Europe, they would have found institutions ready to their hand, which had already been tried, and which had worked with the greatest advantage to mankind. And thus, in India, the difficulty of introducing such institutions may be much less than is supposed. For instance, I cannot agree with the suggestion thrown out that the operation of the missionaries is inimical to representative government.

Mr. BONNERJEE—No : the only persons at present proselytising are the missionaries, the Mahometans, the Bhuddas, and the Brahmins do not go about trying to convert people to their opinions.

Mr. ZORN—I have found this from my own experience. I have had converted Mahometans and Brahmins and Parsees in my house, and I have found that they have all the same national pride, to make India one nation ; so that a sameness of religion begets a sameness of patriotism.

Though Christianity sets its face against rebellion, and encourages justice on the side of the people as well as on the side of the rulers, certainly no grants ought to be made from the public revenues towards any religious system. Let the religious take care of themselves—that is the great maxim which ought to be followed. If the system of compulsory education were introduced, the first step would be gained towards representative government; for, unless you have people who can understand what is meant by representative government, it would be useless to introduce it. I have noticed that, in the course of the debates in the House of Commons, a great difficulty was suggested in respect of voting papers. I have seen voting actually carried on in my own country, in various parts of this country, and in New York, Philadelphia, and San Francisco, and I must say, that in respect of voting I give the palm to my own country; for this reason, that a man who votes steps forward to a table and receives a blank form, and then he writes his vote and hands it in, so that there is no undue influence. If a man said, "I cannot write," or "I cannot spell"—he would be answered, "That is your fault. We give you free education, and if you have not profited by it, it is your own fault."

A MEMBER—Is it vote by ballot?

Mr. ZORN—It is a combination of the ballot and open voting. From what I have seen of voting in America, I have been cured of the doctrine of universal suffrage.

Mr. CHISHOLM ANSTEE—Though I have not the honour of being a Member of this Association, and therefore should not have presumed to intrude upon your attention, but for the flattering call you have been pleased to make, I have always sympathized very strongly and very sincerely with its objects, and I believe I can carry my recollection back to the time when I hailed with gratification the formation of the Association, because I saw that it was going to supply a very great deficiency, the non-existence of which—when I stood almost alone in the House of Commons to advocate the extension to India of those institutions, some of which now exist there, but none of which existed there at the time when I made what was long an ineffectual demand for them—I had so much occasion to deplore. I can safely say that Mr. Bonnerjee's paper, which contains so much that is novel and interesting, and in which he has treated his subject in so fair and liberal a spirit and with so much ability, would, if adopted according to the view of Mr.

Bonnerjee, not according to the interpretations which English people are likely to put upon it, go very far, perhaps the whole way, to a complete realization of the views I always have advocated in this matter. Some of the concessions, so to speak, which have been made since 1852, have been sufficient in my opinion to the ends to which they were directed. I speak more particularly with regard to throwing open the branches of the highest courts of justice to natives of the soil. But there was one institution which more than any other I considered in those days, and which I certainly do now consider, as containing with itself, as in a germ, all the future prosperity of India, which has been very inefficiently and very inadequately introduced even by way of a tentative experiment—I mean that institution which Mr. Bonnerjee's paper if carried out would go, as I said just now, very far to realize, namely the institution of a representative Assembly, seated either in the centre of India or in the centre of each Presidency, or in the centre of each Talook—I care not which, provided only the thing is adopted. The people of India, as they are (not the people as our Government, with the best disposition in the world, would believe them to be), should not only be made to feel an interest in governing themselves with advantage, but in a way compelled to do so. Now, Mr. Bonnerjee seems to have been much misunderstood by the gentleman who has just sat down, and I do not think that his views have been clearly appreciated by all my countrymen, who are present. What Mr. Bonnerjee has presented is this great truth, that when you seek to introduce this species of representation into India you are not introducing a new thing, but only a new form of that which already exists there, which has existed there for thousands of years, and which cannot be rooted up out of the minds and hearts of the people, unless you exterminate that people itself. We are apt to forget in this country, when we talk of preparing people in the East by education, and all that sort of thing, for municipal government and parliamentary government (if I may use such a term), that the East is the parent of municipalities. Local self-government, in the widest acceptation of the term, is as old as the East itself. No matter what may be the religion of the people who inhabit what we call the East, there is not a portion of that country, there is not a portion of Asia, from west to east, from north to south, which is not swarming with municipalities; and not only so, but like to our municipalities of old, they are all bound together as in a species of net-work, so that you have ready-made to your hand the framework of

a great system of representation, and all you have to do is to adopt what you have there and invite the municipalities to send you their delegates. Take the case of China. I happened to be called upon to prepare a scheme of police administration for that portion of China which has fallen into our dominions. What did I do? Did I go into Germany or the United States, or England, in quest of models? No: I looked across to Canton; they had the tithing, the hundred, the shire, the province, and the kingdom. Just as in days of old amongst ourselves, they had the view of Frankpledge, they had collective responsibility, they had seigniorial responsibility. I adopted that system, and that is the system by which I believe that part of our dominions is governed at this day. Take Bengal: open that most admirable of all collections of State papers, the celebrated Fifth Report of the Committee of 1811, and read there if you wish to know of what mighty things the municipal system of India is capable. Read there what calamities befell Bengal from the precise moment when we laid the municipal system aside and substituted in lieu of it a system of enlightened paternal government. I refer in particular to the admirable paper of Mr. Place, and his exposition of the calamities which befell the twenty-four Pergunuahs in consequence of the abolition of the municipal system, and the manner in which that admirable civil servant of the then East India Company, Mr. Butterworth Bayley, retrieved all that, much as the task presented of difficulty, in nine months after his appointment, by the simple process of trusting to the people themselves. Anarchy and crime were extirpated and order was restored, and in nine months, the people being left to themselves, the crime-sheet presented a blank.

Now, let us go to something higher than the municipal systems; let us go to what we call political representative government on a large scale. Can any man, who has in his memory the marvellous history of the Sikh commonwealth, tell me that the natives of India are incapable not only of sending delegates to a council sitting in Calcutta, or Bombay, or Madras, or Agra, but, if the emergency required it, of governing themselves? What was the case of the Sikh commonwealth? Who were the Sikhs when their prophet first found them out? Poor miserable starving fugitives from Bengal, of whom their great founder, knowing well the stuff from which Asiatics were made, looking with a prophetic eye into the future said, "I will teach the sparrow to strike the eagle." In comparison with the great dynasty

of Aurungzebe, it was the sparrow as compared to the eagle, and in less than a century the sparrow did strike the eagle; and how was it accomplished? Not by introducing a representative government, not by restoring municipal action, but by introducing a democracy—a democracy the most powerful perhaps, having regard to the extent of territory and the population which inhabited it, that the world has ever seen. We know something of the Sikhs. Lord Gough, with that chivalry which always distinguished him, answered Captain Cunningham's inquiry by admitting that he was as nearly defeated as ever a general was by those men at the time when they were without a government; for you must remember that every one of those battles, of which we to this day preserve the recollection, and of which our soldiers are so justly proud, because they rose victors from those combats, was fought by people without a government, and by an army without a general: they worked themselves into action; they were mutineers, for they deposed their officers—for having convicted them of what they had a right to call treasonable relations with the enemy, they deposed every one of them. Without a government at home, without a general in the camp, and without officers to command them in the regiments, they worked themselves regiment by regiment into action, and very nearly defeated the British. Their view was, that being a commonwealth, there was power, and there was wisdom. It was certainly, I think, a very great escape that our military prestige made, when, instead of being conquered in those actions, we rose conquerors; but we ought to profit by the moral, and we ought to believe that those poor Bengalees who in three generations (for it only required three generations to effect that marvellous change) were able to found a commonwealth, may be reasonably considered to be quite fit to exercise the much less exalted function of meeting village by village, and talook by talook, and there electing, in their own quiet way, some spokesman on their behalf to go and confer with the Sircar. For that is the meaning of representative government. Let us not be frightened by that bugbear incapacity: there is no nation unfit for free institutions. If you wait for absolute perfection the world will come to an end before you have established your free institutions—but you must take the world as it is, and there is no nation so ignorant but knows its wants, or some of its more pressing wants; there is no nation so poor, but it has some proprietary or possessory interests for the perfection of which it is solicitous; and there is no nation which

is not entitled, therefore, with a view to its own interests and its own wants, or to what it conceives to be its wants and interests, to be heard in its own defence. I am afraid there are a great many persons in this country who have the franchise, who are not fit for it, if philosophers are to judge, if schoolmasters are to judge, and if men of religion are to judge ; but we do not go upon that foundation here, when we establish a new parliamentary constituency ; what we inquire is, What is the population, and how is it represented ? Has it the means of making its views heard ? If they are ignorant it is right that their ignorance should be enlightened ; it can only be enlightened by their being brought face to face with those who can enlighten them, and that can only be through their representatives. Now the manner of doing this, Mr. Bonnerjee has very properly said, is a practical question, and he proposes to be heard at some future time on that subject. I think there could be no difficulty about it ; but I applaud his discretion in not mixing up matters of detail with matters of principle, and in directing your attention to this great thought, that it is desirable that the people of India should be heard through their representatives by our Government ; and remember, as I stated when I commenced, we have already in a very clumsy and imperfect way recognised that right of the people of India. The people of India are supposed to have the means of conferring with the sircar, through their representatives ; for what is the meaning of the presence of one or two natives in each of the councils of legislation, as they are called, which sit at the presidency towns ? The meaning is, that the Government conceive that those gentlemen are the representatives of the people, and therefore not because of particular affection they have for them, but because they conceive them to possess the confidence of their people, they invite them to attend and be sworn in there as councillors of the Government. Therefore to that extent the principle of representation is recognised ; but the way of working out is most imperfect. It has always been a question which I have asked, How can the English Government know who do, and who do not possess the confidence of the various nations who inhabit the soil of India, and the countless castes and subdivisions of those nations ? The people themselves can judge who have and who have not that confidence, but the Government must be utterly ignorant upon the point. I can safely say that I have been brought personally into very close contact with natives of various races during many years of my acquaintance with Asia, but to this day I declare that I cannot place my hand upon a single

native (no matter how eminent he may be, no matter how high my opinion with reference to him personally may be) of whom I may predicate with certainty, This man has the confidence of his fellow-countrymen. Then how could I select one of those to be the representative of the natives? and yet that is what we do when we place those nominees of the Government in the legislative councils. Again, look at the municipality which we have established at Bombay.

THE CHAIRMAN—I am sorry to stop you, but will you kindly draw your remarks to a close, because our time is passing away.

MR. CRISHOLM ANSTEY—It is my last observation. Look at the municipality which we have established at Bombay. Of what does it consist? It consists of a numerous body of unpaid justices of the peace, all nominated by the Government, not one of them elected by the people; and when we have nominated them—that is, when our Government has nominated them—the body may be fifty, or sixty, or seventy, or eighty; it does not consist of hundreds; it certainly does not consist of thousands; we suppose we have a constituency there out of which the municipality is to be elected. Accordingly we concede to the fifty, or sixty, or seventy gentlemen, many of whom are natives, but many of whom are Europeans, all being nominees of the Government, the duty of electing one municipal commissioner, who is to have full power of doing what he likes, subject to the control of the Government. My object in referring to these points is, to shew you two things; first, that we have recognised the principle of representation of the natives; and secondly, that we have bungled in the attempt to carry it out. I will not trespass further upon your time, but I will only say, that if Mr. Bonnerjee's plan for carrying into effect in detail the views which he has so ably and so courageously propounded to-night, be one half as thoughtful and well-considered as the paper we have just heard, it will be a very easy thing, I do not say to introduce or create, but to revive municipal government all over India, and with municipal government a parliamentary system.

A NATIVE MEMBER—I wish just to add one word to what has been said just now by Mr. Anstey, with regard to the representative character of the municipalities. The municipal committees in the non-Regulation Provinces consist, not of nominees of the Government; they are fairly elected by the people, and they are for the most

part representatives of trades and professions, particularly in the Punjab. Out of forty-nine, twenty-eight are fairly elected by the people.

Mr. DADABHAI NAOROJI—After the able discussion which has been carried on, I feel it would be almost presumptuous on my part to take up much of your time, and I will therefore only make a few remarks. Though it may be taken for granted, that the natives of India are not prepared for a representative assembly, this much is admitted by all, that the germ of representation exists among them. The only question is, to give a fair trial. The argument generally urged is, that the natives are not prepared for such institutions. Such an argument is like not allowing a person to swim till he has learnt to swim. I grant all that is said by those who are opponents to the establishment of the representative system in India, while the people may not be prepared for such an assembly as Mr. Bonnerjee proposes, namely, a large assembly in some part of India, where the whole of India would be represented, still from the progress of education up to this time, and from the knowledge diffused among the people generally, not only by means of schools, but by educated natives, we know that we have at the present moment a sufficiently respectable constituency to enable us to give the institution a fair trial. Since I have been here I have considered it a happiness in possessing the right of voting for a member of Parliament; and I know that among the educated natives of India, after they have received an English education, they feel as a mark of humiliation upon their forehead as long as they are left to be governed by other people, and have no voice themselves in all that concerns them. To have a voice in the government of their country is a natural aspiration, and it is a right which the natives of India, as Mr. Chisholm Anstey says, have possessed, and exercised for thousands of years. Even such a small community as the Parsees know what influence the punjayet possessed upon them. Taking these things into consideration, if the native members in the legislative council were allowed to be elected instead of selected, and the municipal justices to be elected by the people of the presidency towns, a fair and reasonable beginning would be made. If the selection were allowed to be made by the people themselves, the Government would be much relieved in their responsibility, and no blame could be attached to them for anything that might be cen-

surable on the part of the people's own representatives. At present Bombay is crying out about their municipality. The natives are saying, What is the benefit we are deriving? In the European locality, the roads are all in good order, but in the native locality no one cares about them, and there the dirt remains uncleared. The commissioner, who only goes where the English go, and where the roads are kept in a proper state, makes a fine report that the roads are all in beautiful order, and everything is right and proper. If the native councillors representing the presidency towns in the legislative council were elected by the people, and if the justices were elected by the people, the Government would find their hands strengthened, because the people would be much more satisfied, and feel a greater interest in public matters. I think, if those two suggestions were adopted, a practical beginning could be very well made.

Mr. NOWROZJEE FURDOONJEE—I take the liberty of corroborating some of the remarks which Mr. Dadabhai has made upon this very important subject, which I hope will receive the attentive consideration of our Association. It seems to me that the Association will confer a great obligation on the people of India if they will discuss this important question brought before the notice of the Association by Mr. Bonnerjee, in all its bearings and aspects, for it is a question of vital importance. At this late hour I will not detain the Association with many remarks, but I will simply offer a few bearing upon the question of the capacity of the natives of India. It has often been alleged that the natives of India are not fit for representative institutions, and that therefore it is idle to talk at this time of any representative institution being given to India. With reference to that, and in corroboration of what my friend Mr. Dadabhai has said, and others have said, so far as the small community of which I am a member is concerned, I beg to inform this Association, that among the Parsees of Western India, for many years, even whilst they were under the yoke of the British, and also while they were under the native dynasties, all questions with regard to social matters, such as questions arising out of the laws of marriage and divorce, and all disputes with regard to debt, and so on, which questions are decided now by the British courts of justice, used to be decided by the representatives of the Parsee community. The Parsee community used from time to time to meet together at their places of worship, and there they elected their representatives to the ^{the} Punjyet; and at the

sittings of the punjayed such questions as I have referred to were brought before them, and disposed of after careful consideration, the decisions being given with great impartiality, and acquiesced in by the community. However, afterwards, from mismanagement and from certain influences being brought into play, the punjayed gradually lost its power, and ultimately fell into disuse. Hence the necessity arose of having a regular set of laws drawn up for the guidance of the Parsee community in dealing with such cases, and it being considered that it was hopeless to resuscitate the punjayed, it having a long time fallen into disuse, a number of things having prevented its being resuscitated, my community held a meeting some eleven years ago in Bombay, at which they appointed the most influential men amongst them as a sort of punjayed or managing committee, to prepare a code of laws, and to have them enacted by the Indian legislature. Those representatives met and worked for nearly ten years ; they prepared a code of laws regarding marriage, regarding divorce, and regarding pecuniary transactions, adapted to the wants of the community, which laws were submitted to the Legislative Council of India, and approved. There you have a representative institution that has been in full play years and years. I had the honour of being secretary of that institution for many years, and therefore I am personally able to say that it was very well conducted, and that it was a representative institution which carried with it the esteem and satisfaction and the sympathies of all classes of the community. There is no question, that the germs of such institutions exist in every Indian community ; but the question is to what extent, and how, and what sort of representative institutions should be accorded to India. That is a question that requires careful consideration, and which no doubt the Association will take up. I quite agree with my friend, Mr. Dadabhai, in saying that it is time that a trial should be made, and I think that the time has come when more extended representative institutions should be granted to India, when the imperfect representative system that has been given to India should be perfected. With regard to the municipal institutions that have been mentioned, of course there are different sets of institutions, established upon different principles, and according to different rules, in the different Presidencies ; and I have not studied their constitution so as to be able to generalize them ; but so far as the Bombay Presidency is concerned, Mr. Dadabhai is quite correct in saying that there the representative institution is

professed to be carried out in regard to the municipal government, but it is not at all really carried out. The affairs of the municipality are managed apparently by the representatives of the people, but the gentlemen who are justices of the peace, and who are said to be representatives of the people, are mere nominees of the Government, and therefore not the people's representatives. It would be a step, I think, in the right direction, if a number of members of the municipality could be elected by the voice of the people ; and surely the presidency towns, of all others, are the best places to which this representative institution might be accorded without the least hesitation or without any fear or anxiety, so far as the Government is concerned, or as far as politics are concerned. I submit that that trial might be made with every prospect of a successful result. And if a good municipal constitution were given to Bombay ; if Bombay were allowed to elect its own municipal commissioners and representatives, and if a fair trial were given to the experiment, I have no doubt that the fitness of the people to elect proper representatives would be amply demonstrated. And, moreover, another experiment might be tried in the case of the native members of the legislative council. Though a number of native gentlemen, supposed to be the representatives of the people, are appointed from time to time to take a part in the legislative councils at each of the presidencies, still they are the nominees of the Government, and an important step would be gained towards the end we have in view, if the Government could be prevailed upon to allow those representatives to be elected by the people instead of being the nominees of the Government ; and instead of their number being very few, I submit that it ought to be enlarged so as to admit of a representation of the many different races and classes of the people of India in the council of the nation.

Mr. P. M. MEHTA—I think, after the testimony which has been unanimously given to the fitness of India for representative government, we may call upon the sub-committee of our Association to take the matter into consideration, and to take some practical steps towards carrying out some of the views suggested by several of the gentlemen who have spoken to-night as to municipal representation and such things. I would suggest that they should discuss the matter, and bring their views before the Association, with a view to some practical steps being taken.

Mr. GORDON—I will confine myself to only a very few words. I beg

to express my thanks to Mr. Bonnerjee for the very able paper he has read. While I think that there can be but one opinion as to the desirability of representative government for India, we must take a practical view of the question. We should, I think, first try to obtain a little before attempting to get the whole. I have been very much delighted to hear the suggestions made by the last two or three speakers, that we should endeavour, if possible, to begin at the bottom of the ladder, asking for what can be easily accorded, and by doing so gradually ascend to the top. I think there can be no doubt as to the desirability of a general representation for India, though I question very much the propriety of having, as was suggested in the able essay before us, only one representative. I am afraid, from the great variety of interests in India, more than one would be required ; but that is more a matter for after consideration. Let us commence at once by attempting to gain practically a little, and as quickly as we possibly can. A foot gained now is worth more than attempting to gain a mile by-and-by ; and if we only strain every nerve to gain what little we can, and what is practicable at once, I have no doubt that we shall ultimately gain the goal.

MR. TYABJEE—I will only address you for a very few minutes. After the observations made by the preceding speakers, it is not necessary for me to discuss the question of the desirability of conferring the privilege of representative government on India. I think it is needless to discuss the question of the intellectual capacity of the natives of India, or their fitness for representative government. After the able way in which the question has been treated in the paper we have heard read to-night, is not proof given of the intellectual capacity of my countrymen? I contend that the natives of India are as capable of exercising the privilege of representative government as the natives of England, if they are only allowed a fair trial. Then arises the question, How is the principle of representation to be carried out in detail? If we could only get Parliament to entertain the question at all, no doubt by-and-by we might be able to get something done towards it ; but it is very difficult to get the House of Commons to consider Indian questions at all. As an Asiatic, I was very much pleased to see the splendid reception given to the Sultan of Turkey when he came over here the other day ; but I could not see the justice of taxing the natives of India for the entertainment. I think if we had had a representative government, the Government would not have attempted to do such a thing as

that. Is it not monstrous that the Sultan of Turkey should have been so entertained out of the revenues of India, and that the English Government, when interrogated as to the limit of expenditure to which the natives of India might so be put, without their being consulted in any way, vouchsafed no answer, and that the only gentleman who stood up to defend the interests of the people of India, was a blind Professor? If we had anything like a representative government for India, I think no such injustice as that would be perpetrated. Without taking up more of your time, I really think that the question of representation can no longer be delayed. We have been taunted, as the working classes of England have been taunted, with being indifferent about representative institutions, but that taunt is ill founded. Any gentleman of any education at all, understands that the only way of gaining the good feeling of the natives of India must be by giving them representative government, and it can no longer be delayed without danger to the British Government. The natives of India, though warm supporters, are by no means abject flatterers, and it would be most unwise to defer the consideration of this question any longer.

MR. BONNERJEE—I wish to follow up the suggestion of Mr. Mehta, by saying that in addition to our political committee taking up this question of representative government, some of the members of our Association who are also members of the House of Commons might aid in the object we have in view, by asking for a return of the number of householders in India, the divisions of the districts, and the system of management of the particular districts which at present prevails all over India. I think if we could get that, the details of the representative system in India could very easily be arrived at, and acted upon. I have, as I stated in my paper, some intention of considering those details hereafter. As regards giving representative institutions to India at once, there may be, of course, a difference of opinion; but I think, assuming for the sake of argument that the natives of India are not capable of representative government, the English Government have the choice between two evils; one is their present system of government, which is admittedly imperfect, and the other is giving representative government to incapable people. I think the giving of representative government to incapable people is the least of these two evils—because under the existing system you have not the slightest sympathy from the

people, whereas if you gave them representation, though they might be unfit for it, you would at once appeal to the support of the people. As Lord Macaulay very candidly confessed in his critique on Gladstone's "Church and State," at present England rules India by the sword. Giving India a representative government would be, at least, telling the people that they are somebodies in the State, and they would feel that they were called upon to support the English Government in their efforts to improve India, and to bring it back to its former state of civilization. Then I think that the cry of the incapacity of the people is, I am sorry to say, used by Englishmen more as a cloak for the fear that by granting representative institutions to India, we should run the risk of losing our power in England, than as an argument in itself. They have got in their minds certain fears as to the result which a representative government would have in India, not as regards its success or failure, but as regards the stability of the British Government in the East. I think that those fears are utterly groundless, because the natives of India are not such thankless individuals, that as soon as they get power they will use that power against you. On the contrary, I think all impartial visitors to India agree in this, that the natives in India are apt to be peculiarly, even superfluously, grateful for any benefits conferred upon them. Therefore, if you give them this privilege, instead of their turning round on you and saying, You have no business in this country ; we are now independent, and we shall drive you out they would look upon the English Government as one of their instincts, and would do more for its preservation than they would even do for a native government.

Mr. DADABHAI NAOROJI—I think it is unfortunate that the subject of the entertainment of the Sultan of Turkey should have been introduced into this discussion. I can only say, as one of the natives of India, that I think there is something to be said in justification of the Government in respect of that matter. We must not forget that there are two parties in India—the governed and the governors. The English Government have, of course, as the governors of the country, certain duties to perform. They have to carry on the government of India from this country, and, in doing so, they require certain facilities to be afforded them in the dominions of the Sultan of Turkey and the Viceroy of Egypt. As governors of India, wherever they can obtain facilities and assistance in preserving their power in India, they must

avail themselves of those facilities and assistance. And if they require, for instance, a passage over-land through Egypt, they are bound to show their gratitude to those who have given them that assistance. Consequently, when the Sultan and the Viceroy came here, they could not but give them the entertainment they did give in recognition of the assistance they had received. No doubt some natives of India would say, it is a misfortune that India should have to pay £10,000, or whatever the sum might be, for an entertainment in England of the Sultan of Turkey; but if India is to be governed from England, and if in time of mutiny soldiers are to be sent from England, the Government of England, as a Government, must acknowledge the benefits which they have received from those Eastern potentates in their dominions. I think, moreover, that the matter should be viewed in this light: the natives of India, as a nation, have a kindly feeling towards all other Asiatic races; and seeing that the Sultan and the Viceroy are as much Asiatics as I am, and the natives of India having this opportunity of showing a good feeling towards two potentates of their own race on a visit to England, Sir Stafford Northcote has done a good act on their behalf in entertaining the Sultan, and the Viceroy, at their expense. I may be allowed, however, to take the opportunity of saying (living in England, one is allowed to grumble a little), that the funniest thing about the entertainment was, that everybody was invited except those who paid for it.

General NORTH—As Mr. Bonnerjee has replied to the remarks made upon his paper, I presume that I am not out of order now in proposing a vote of thanks to him for the very able essay he has prepared, with so much research and ability, not on account only of its own intrinsic merits, to which the various speakers have borne ample testimony, and which has shown that his theory regarding the fitness of India at the present day for trying on, as he said, representative government, has been fully borne out; but also on account of the opportunity that it has given us of hearing the very eloquent speech of Mr. Chisholm Anstey, which I have been very much delighted to hear. I think more valuable testimony than that adduced by him could not be brought to bear upon any question. He has had great experience, his talents are well known and undoubted, and he is fresh from the very heart of the East. When I left India he was in very good practice at the Bar at Bombay: I don't know where he has been since.

A MEMBER—He has been Judge in the High Court of Bombay.

General NORTH—Therefore he is particularly well qualified to bear independent and disinterested testimony on this very question. Looking at the question as a military man, from a military point of view, I may be allowed, in proposing a vote of thanks to Mr. Bonnerjee, merely to remark that if his theory is carried out in any practical way whatever, if the first step, which is the great difficulty, is taken, we may, I think, begin to confute that theory that India is governed or held by the sword—we may, in a great measure, throw the sword aside. We shall cause the people of the country to become interested in their institutions, so that mutinies will never be heard of, but, on the contrary, they will all rise as a man to defend those institutions of which they will grow fond. The longer they have them, the more they will take a pride in them, and the more they will cherish them. They will look at them as we do at ours, which are the growth of ages ; and instead of having, as we now have, as I have had great opportunities of knowing, the native army thoroughly discontented in consequence of its regimental organization having been completely destroyed and overthrown by the amalgamation, we shall have native troops, chiefly officered by contented and educated native officers, showing willing obedience to English officers placed over them in command. Gradually we should be able to get rid of the system of having 70,000 English troops in India, to keep India in subjection by the sword. Therefore, in an economical point of view, as far as military expenditure is concerned, it would be wise for the Government to take the first step ; but there is the difficulty—patronage and interest are opposed to it. You have respectable old gentlemen in the Council of India who are placed there for life—the India of whose young day was a very different thing from the India of the present day. What can they be expected to know about it ? If those men, like your Governors of Presidencies in India, were chosen on account of their experience and their knowledge, and the capacity they have shown for governing the people of India, and if their tenure of office was for a limited period, say five years, and if they were recent importations, from the country about which they are supposed to give the very best advice to the Secretary of State for India, then the case would be very different ; but you have now in that Council men who have not been in India for twenty, or thirty, or more years, and, as I say, India is a very different country to what it was at that time. India

has grown and is progressing, more, perhaps, than any other country in the world. In former days, could any of us have supposed it possible that we should have heard such an essay as we have listened to to-night? an essay showing such research, such reading, such reasoning powers, and such ability as the one we have heard from Mr. Bonnerjee to-night. I can only congratulate this Association on the opportunity that has been given to it, by having this paper read to-night, of furthering the objects for which it was instituted, and I think that the very greatest good will be gained by giving opportunities to the educated natives to make their views known here to the public, to Parliament, and to the statesmen of England. I beg to conclude by proposing that the thanks of this meeting be given to Mr. Bonnerjee for the essay with which he has favoured the meeting to-night.

Col. HALY—I beg to second that motion.

The motion was put, and carried unanimously.

The CHAIRMAN—Before the meeting closes I will just say one or two words in depreciation of some of the remarks that have been made. Though there is not in this room a greater friend in his heart of the people of India than I am, at the same time I do not think it fair to let this meeting separate without saying a few words in the way of rendering due justice to the Government which has been ruling India for the last century. I think it is a pity that more justice has not been meted out to our Government. Though I heartily go along with the object you have in view, and though I entirely concur in the propositions of the last two native speakers, who have proposed one or two points easily attainable (for I certainly think you should begin in that way, and advocate those one or two steps which can easily be obtained, not in this country but from the Government of India),—though those are my feelings, I should be very sorry to think that the English Government in India have not been furthering these objects which you have in view, and that they have not been animated with a desire to search out the feelings and wishes of the people of India. I never should think of justifying our position in India, if we stood ruling India for the sake of England. I maintain that our position in India can only be justified by the proposition that we are ruling India for the benefit of the natives of India. And whatever may be said of what was done in past times, and I have read books containing some very strong observations against the acts of the old East India Company, I am proud

to think that in the main there never, in the history of the world, was a government actuated by more pure philanthropy and a more hearty desire to do justice to the people it ruled. That I fully believe, and I am sure that no just man can search into the history of India without having the same belief. Look at their despatches ; no man can read them and not see that whatever unjust act was done they deprecated it ; whatever war or political interference was begun by any ruler, however great, they brought their censure upon it and regretted it. The wars in India, as Mr. Bonnerjee remarked, have usually been thrust upon the rulers by opposing chiefs, and have not been sought out for the aggrandizement of the English power in India, and I think our English Government was helpless in the matter. I speak for my own province. I assure you that in the Punjab our government has been actuated from first to last with the spirit which has been advocated by Mr. Bonnerjee to-night. Our whole desire there has been to gather the wishes and desires of the people ; our whole desire has been to develop the system of the punjayet, which has been alluded to to-night. That system of the punjayet, as Mr. Chisholm Anstey truly remarked, was more strong and vital in the Punjab than in other parts of India. The crushing out of the punjayet system in Bombay has been, I think, attributed to the action of the English rule, I do not know with what justice, but this I can say, that in the Punjab the action of the English Government has been to give fresh vitality to the punjayet system. That system, which was crushed out by the administration of Runjeet Sing and his successors, was restored by English gallantry, and now, year by year, the object and desire of the Government in the Punjab is to search out the leading men to represent the people ; not chiefly because they happen to live in fine houses, and to have a great many retainers and great property, but what we call chowdries—men who represent the people. Through those leading men, as representing the people themselves, our Punjab government has been endeavouring more and more, year by year, to strengthen their own government, until at this moment the Punjab government is a pyramid, the apex of which is English, but the broad basis of which consists of representatives of the people, and I challenge anybody who knows the Punjab to call that statement into question. I see officers before me who are actuated by this very spirit. Captain Powlett has spoken here to-night about it, and there is the very heartiest desire on

the part of every Englishman of any worth at all in the Punjab to bring the administration of the affairs of India as much as possible into the hands of the people ; and therefore I beg my native friends here present not to run away with the idea that the people of England have any wish to shut out the natives of India from having a voice in the government of their country. I see that you come, almost all of you, from the south of India ; I wish it had been your fortune to travel into the northern parts of your own country ; I wish you had travelled into the Punjab, for there you would have seen an institution of a more decided representative character than you have seen in your own part of India ; and you would have come away with a very different opinion as to what are the views and wishes of the best representative men among the English, with regard to the application of such institutions to India. I do not mean to say that there are not a number of Englishmen who take a very different view, but the best men desire, year by year, to develop this very spirit of which we are now speaking. I myself will always be ready and glad to assist in carrying out proposals like these ; but do be practical men, do not run away with theories. I do not want to check Mr. Bonnerjee ; I think he has given us a very thoughtful essay, and I praise him and thank him for it : but we must act upon something practical ; there have been men who would compose you a constitution in half an hour, but they could not be acted upon because they were unpractical. I say to Mr. Bonnerjee, Do not rest with that essay ; think it out deeper, and consult with others—with Mr. Nowrozjee, for instance, who has enunciated some sound and sensible views, and consider what are those practical measures which you can really ask for from the Government of India. Do not begin by asking large things from the Government of England, because they will have to be discussed before an assembly who really are not at home in these subjects ; but ask for smaller things, a step or two above what you have got, and ask them from the Indian Government, and I will answer for it you will find a hearty co-operation on the part of the Indian Government—particularly so long as it is ruled over by Sir John Lawrence, who is a man who has the good of the people of India at heart ; a man who will help you to develop, as far as possible, those ideas which have been enunciated to-night. But you must remember that you will find obstructions among your own countrymen. Do not think that all the obstruction will arise from the English ; you who are here present to-

night advocating the extension of representative government to India, are but a cypher; you are speaking to-night as if you represented the feelings of India. You do not: you represent the feelings of a small educated minority of your countrymen. And where did you get those ideas? Who has been at the pains to instil this public spirit into you? Did you get those feelings and that public spirit from your own countrymen, or from mine?

A NATIVE MEMBER—From yours.

The CHAIRMAN—I thank you for the answer. I rose merely to extract that confession from my native friends to-night. I think it would be a pity that this meeting should break up to-night without justice being done to both sides, and I hope we all part with that feeling. Many Englishmen are as desirous to introduce representative institutions into your country as you can be, but you are only the educated few—the leaven. Act as the leaven among your countrymen; circulate your ideas among them; leave them to work for a time, and you will find that they will work among the masses of your countrymen, and that they will at last rise into those institutions which you are now contemplating.

Mr. DADABHAI NAOROJI—I beg to propose a vote of thanks to the Chairman, first of all for acceding to our request to take the chair, and next for the eloquent address we have received from him just now. I assure him—and I think other native friends will agree with me in saying so—that as far as the educated natives, small as the number is, are concerned, they admit to the fullest possible extent the good that the British Government has done to India. They have never denied it, and I tried my utmost in my first paper to establish that point. We understand what the benefit of the English rule has been, and we fully appreciate it, and I should be the last person to wish that this meeting should disperse without fully agreeing with the remarks made by the Chairman. The reason why no remarks to that effect have been made by any of us to-night, is, because they would not come under the subject brought before us, which was, whether a representative government should be given to India or not, and to that question alone all the remarks were confined. Had it been supposed that there was the slightest question that the British Government had not done good, or that the British rule was not far superior to any that had gone before it, many of us would have stood up at once to say that there could be no question upon that

point. Therefore, I hope the Chairman will believe that we entirely agree in the observations he has made. We are thankful to the utmost possible extent for the good India has derived from the English Government, the result of which is that India is not now what it was thirty years ago, still less is it what it was fifty years ago, and still less is it what it was one hundred years ago. No thinking or educated native will ever deny that. I propose a vote of thanks to the Chairman with the greatest pleasure, and I hope it will be carried by acclamation.

Mr. BONNERJEE—I have much pleasure in seconding that, and I subscribe to every word which Mr. Dadabhai has said. My paper did not mean to imply any condemnation of the present Government of India, but I was anxious to prove this, that at present the Government does not possess the germ of permanence which is desired for it by its framers. The English have no doubt done a great deal of good to the country.

The vote of thanks to the Chairman was carried unanimously.

EVENING MEETING, TUESDAY, AUGUST 6, 1867,

GENERAL J. F. BIRD, IN THE CHAIR.

A PAPER was read by COLONEL G. T. HALY, entitled

THE FISHERIES OF INDIA.

Of all the shortcomings in India, perhaps there is not one calling for more surprise than that of having so entirely neglected its fisheries, as their vast importance, fiscally and commercially, would, it may be supposed, have been alone sufficient to have drawn some little attention to them, if their more vital importance to the community at large, more particularly the agricultural classes, from whom the bulk of the revenue is derived, had not demanded the attention of the rulers of India; yet I am not aware that there is a single Act touching on, or in any way legislating for, the conservancy of the fisheries of this mighty empire, though their importance to that country is a hundredfold of more consequence to its people, and of far greater magnitude, than perhaps any other in the world.

What makes this neglect the more surprising, is that the British Government is well aware of the necessity for such legislation, as it is exerted in this country to the protection of even the smallest streams; yet is a seaboard of some 5,000 miles in extent (over which the same Government rules supreme), and extensive lakes, with thousands of miles of rivers, left, it may be said, as far as legislation is concerned, unheeded and uncared for.

This hitherto unaccountable apathy in a matter of such vast importance, as well to the rulers as the ruled, is much to be lamented; and now that their extent will be much increased by the works of irrigation about to be carried out at last, it is to be hoped on the scale so long demanded, the value of the fisheries will be much enhanced or entirely destroyed, as measures are adopted; and therefore a strict legislative conservancy is more than ever called for, and which, if not given, will indeed subject the rulers again to more of such imputations as are now cast on them in reference to the famine in Orissa, which no doubt might have been considerably modified had those in authority been up to their work, or even listened to the advice and warning voices of many of the *outsiders*, who certainly showed how much better they were conversant with what was actually going on than the Government, or even the local authorities, who allowed the Orissa famine to drift into such fearful dimensions.

But to return to the fisheries, which are perhaps more prolific throughout India than in any other part of the world, in spite of all the disadvantages that they have hitherto laboured under, and of their frequent almost entire destruction in many localities by droughts, but, at the present time, worse than all by their wholesale destruction consequent on a want of foresight in carrying out works of irrigation. Yet does every river, stream, puddle, and even roadside ditch, swarm with minute fish as soon as replenished with water; and these, in their scarcely developed state, are pounced upon by the natives for immediate consumption, without even a thought for the future, or of the suicidal act that they are committing in the wholesale destruction of hundreds for a single meal, when, if left even for a few months, a tithe of the number would suffice for a full and nourishing repast for a whole family.

This wholesale and indiscriminate capture of young fish at the commencement of the monsoon is practised even more destructively during the dry season by the drainage of tanks and ponds, and turning the course of rivers, and thus destroying to the utmost the parent fish as well; and to such an extent is this at times carried, that it is not uncommon to see even a lake drained, and the surrounding population by hundreds—men, women, and children, up to their middle in slime and mud capturing small and large alike, and catching disease as well.

The foregoing is, of course, in allusion principally to the inland and fresh-water fisheries; nor are the sea fisheries quite free from the same

charge, for there, too, they make a wholesale destruction in the back-waters at low tide, and even in the sea "all is fish that comes to their net," the meshes of which are so small that not even a shrimp can escape.

It must, therefore, be evident that there is great necessity for immediate measures being adopted to prevent this indiscriminate destruction of the small fry ; and as this has been thought requisite for this country, and as the fisheries of Great Britain do obtain some protection and consideration from Government, though not the half that their importance demands, it is to be hoped that the Indian Government likewise may see the necessity of legislation for the fisheries of the Indian empire ; for, whatever may be the importance to England of *her* fisheries, those of India are of still greater consequence to our Indian possessions, where, from the scarcity of inland salt deposits, every saline article of food has to be drawn from the coast ; and this is the reason why throughout that country, even to the most remote districts, such store is laid on salted fish, which even the poorest classes endeavour to procure to flavour their miserable meal of inferior grain with : for few natives can now afford to eat rice.

I shall now enumerate some of the fish that are to be found in the Indian waters, best known to Europeans, which are also the finest and best flavoured. Of sea-fish, there are the seer, pomfret, mango, roeball, rock cod, sole, whiting, mullet, bonita, sardine, plaice, skate, snipe-fish, rice-fish, sable, ecls, oysters, crabs, crayfish, and prawns of all kinds in abundance, some of which latter are of extraordinary size, and considered most nutritious, and are dried and salted in large quantities for inland consumption. Turtle likewise are to be found all along the coast at the proper season. Of fresh-water fish, there are the marseer, hilsa, maharn, perch, caboose, carp, barbel, eels, crayfish, rupchul, and innumerable small fry.

Trusting that I may have succeeded in showing that there is a great demand for this article of food throughout India, particularly of dried salted sea-fish ; and further, that there are in the Eastern empire, as well as in Great Britain, fisheries worth looking after, and with even more extent of what would be, under proper conservancy laws, inexhaustible fishing grounds, as yet, it may be said, untouched except by a few unskilful depredators, for they can scarcely be called fishermen ; at least, all their *materiel* and gear are of the most primitive description, which

do not admit of securing the larger and finer kinds of fish, that keep out in deep water, where the native fisher dare not venture with his miserable boat, except during the finest weather, and consequently their fishing is principally confined *in shore* among the smaller fry ; and therefore this hard-working, deserving, and most necessary class to the community at large is amongst the poorest in India, and fast degenerating. But this melancholy fact is likewise owing to the want of more free communication with the interior, which at the same time that it cuts off these markets from the inhabitants of the grain districts, debars those of the coast from grain, truly their "staff of life ;" and they have, consequently, to exist almost entirely on fish, which is no doubt the principal cause of their rapid degeneracy of *late* years, owing to a larger exportation of grain, and accounts for their constant state of cutaneous disease, as well as the frequency of dysentery and cholera among them.

Such a sad state as I have endeavoured to describe cannot of course be long or quite patiently borne, and therefore the many emigrations to the West Indies and the Mauritius. Thus India is *forced* to administer to the wealth and comfort of foreign nations to *her own* destruction, in draining her of that most vital element, her *much needed* labouring classes, and which is another strong reason why some immediate measures should be adopted to relieve and encourage this most essential and worthy class, not only for their own sakes, but also for that of the community at large.

It must, therefore, be evident that well-organized fishing establishments are not only imperatively called for as a philanthropic measure, but that immense profits must be realized from them. But I must here remark that it is Government that must take the lead in this as in all else in our Eastern empire ; not but that private enterprise has done much, and would continue to do so—tea and coffee plantations to wit ; but it is too slow for the actual requirements of our vast Indian possessions, and it is to Government that the people of India have to look (at least until they have their own House of Assembly, and a voice in the matter of supply, expenses of state, &c.), which should be a parental one in every sense of the word, as well as being what it actually is, and should continue to be, the lord of the manor and liberal landlord ; and those who wish to see it otherwise are either no friends of India, or are lamentably ignorant on the subject ; and let it be well understood that what may answer in the western hemisphere is totally unsuited for the

eastern one ; and it is having lost sight of this fact that has done all the mischief, and will, I fear, yet occasion the ruin of that magnificent empire, unless we speedily change our tactics and open out its resources instead of crippling their development.

If I have failed hitherto in awakening interest in the fisheries of India, it must be put down to my inability to deal with this momentous subject, and not to its want of importance ; for, as I have before intimated, if the fisheries of Great Britain are considered worthy of legislating for, what must not those of so large an empire call for, with its great extent of sea-board, numerous backwaters and lakes, canals, ponds, large rivers, streams, &c.? Yet, as I have already stated, I am not aware of the existence of a single Act of conservancy for the fisheries of that great empire, though they are, perhaps, more prolific than most others in the world ; and with a continual great and increasing demand by an immense population, the bulk of whom, from being non-consumers of flesh, have only fish, with a little *ghee* (clarified butter), to look to for affording the requisite nourishment to render their meagre meals of grain and vegetable palatable and suitable food for man, and for the support of the human frame in a healthy state of mind as well as body.

That the culture of fish should have been so long neglected in India appears the more extraordinary from the fact that it requires considerably less outlay than does any other mode of adding both to the revenue of the State and to the food of the people ; and farther, that the culture of fish is of Eastern origin, as was first, if I am not much mistaken, practised by the Chinese ; anyhow, I can vouch for their now carrying it out systematically on the most extensive scale, though in what may appear to our *present* ideas, rather a primitive style perhaps, yet quite as successfully as we do, and certainly by a much more economical process, by simply depositing at intervals along the coast, in rivers, lakes, &c. sunken brushwood as shelter for the fish to spawn in—something, in fact, in the way that our oyster-beds are established.

I may as well here mention that all the crustaceous and ostrcean tribes abound in India, with the exception of the lobster—which is, however, fully replaced by a very large species of crayfish—yet not the least attempt is made for either culture or preservation ; even that of oysters, from which is likewise derived some revenue (though not a tithe of what it ought to be) by the pearl fisheries, and they in

particular abound everywhere along the coast. Some of these delicious, nutritious, and highly-productive moluscae cannot be surpassed in size and flavour by any in the world. The climate, too, of India is particularly favourable to the production of oysters, as being free from frost, the greatest enemy to them. Consequently, there, the success of oyster-beds would amount to a certainty, and therefore they would be of even more value than those of Great Britain ; not that it can be considered that either they or the fisheries generally belonging to the British Government are meeting with that attention or support that are their due, for England has not only of late years sadly neglected her duty in this wise, but a false and unwise policy has allowed foreigners to trespass on her most valuable fishing-grounds.

The French employ about 25,000 fishermen and 700 sail of large ships annually, and the Americans about the same number of vessels, the latter working these seas with a smaller description of craft, and catch about two and a half million quintals of fish between them, on the bank and coast of Newfoundland.

This intrusion on English, or what ought to be English fishing-grounds but for a false diplomacy, is not only detrimental to her trade, but ruinous to one of her most valuable colonies, not only in a mercantile point of view, but politically as well ; and it is scarcely too much to advance, that the neglect and ruin of the Newfoundland fisheries may yet prove the downfall of England as the supreme of maritime nations, for there, of old, was the nursery and practical school in which were trained those British sailors who fought and conquered under Nelson, but which has now become the training-ground of France instead, and the following extract* from a recent work on Fish-culture, by Francis Francis, will not only bear me out in this assertion, but likewise show better than I am yet prepared to do, the real merits of the case, as well as how necessary is government support and aid for the success of such undertakings, as well in the boasted-of, more enlightened Western as in the Eastern hemisphere. If, however, further proof of this were

* "When Government aid and protection were given to our Newfoundland and Labrador fisheries, we had vessels of 250 to 400 tons working throughout four months of the year on the great Banks in dense fogs, and in a perpetual and heavy swell. These employed a large number of seamen ; they remained at anchor on the Banks veering out 120 fathoms of cable, and sometimes in heavy weather having 200 fathoms of cable on end ! In gales they weighed, and hove to. Since

required, we have only to look to the neglected Irish fisheries, more attention to which, by affording both employment, more food, and the means of accumulating wealth to the sons of that unhappily distracted country, might have prevented *Fenianism*, the present sore calamity of that beautiful isle. The falling-off in Newfoundland fisheries has likewise had most baneful effects on the Irish, as they used formerly (and that but a few years back), to flock in large numbers to Newfoundland, and there soon became expert fishermen, at the same time remaining staunch and good British subjects ; but *tout cela est changé*, and they now instead emigrate to America, and become *Yankee citizens*, with a deadly hatred to the country that has so neglected their interests as to force them to seek homes in foreign lands.

It may not be here inopportune to mention that though too much stress cannot be laid on Nelson's memorable words, "England expects that every man this day shall do his duty," yet it would be well, too, for England to remember that all British subjects have a *right* to expect that England as well, will to every man, day by day, do *her* duty.

It may appear to some that I am digressing from the original intentions of this paper ; yet (as I hope to show hereafter), I have not really been doing so in dilating a little on the Fisheries of Newfoundland and the suicidal treaties under which the French were enabled, from the commencement of these treaties, to deprive England of her vantage-ground, and to show so large an increase of her own commerce as to have imported into one of her ports alone (Marseilles) about five million pounds of codfish in the very first year, which quantity is now

the withdrawal of all encouragement the trade is principally carried on in the *in-shore* fisheries by boats of from nine to fifteen tons. The encouragement given by the French Government of several millions of francs a year to the Newfoundland fishery enables the French to keep on the Banks vessels of 800 tons, manned by at least forty men in each, and found with seven to nine heavy anchors, and upwards of 800 fathoms of hemp cables. These vessels have each four or five large boats that can stand heavy weather, lines that cover a great extent of ground, and numerous nets and fishing tackle ; 17,000 to 20,000 of these men return to France every winter, and are ready to serve the imperial marine. *The bounties given by France are not for the advancement of trade, but to create a navy !* In October, 1857, it was stated by Sir G. B. Pechell, M.P., that he intended to bring under the consideration of Parliament, in the approaching session, the whole question of the fisheries of France. Within a few days of that month twenty-one vessels had arrived at Marseilles with 2,357,000 kilogrammes of codfish."

supposed to have more than doubled, so that at the present time, including oil, &c., we may say that about three millions of sterling money annually are passing into Frenchmen's instead of Englishmen's pockets; besides that other incalculable advantages are being obtained by the French Government, as I will presently show. The treaties, therefore, of 1814 and 1818, by ceding to France some of the valuable Newfoundland fishing grounds, have produced most detrimental influences.

This was all strongly urged upon Government by the Newfoundland local authorities at the time, and these obnoxious and ill-advised treaties met with every opposition, and were to the full repudiated by them; and again, in 1857, another attempt was made to further rob Newfoundland of some of her remaining best fishing grounds, but owing to a strong protest against it, both by the local government and House of Assembly, backed by the strenuous efforts of some influential friends in this country, the then Secretary of State for the Colonies was compelled, though most unwillingly, to relinquish this further attempt to curry favour with foreigners at the expense of this already much ill-used colony.

In the reign of Queen Anne there were about 300 ships employed in the Newfoundland fisheries, and the seamen thus nursed mainly assisted in manning her fleets; and Act XV. George III., declares the fisheries "the best nurseries for able and experienced seamen, always ready to man the royal navy when occasion may require, and it is therefore of the greatest national importance to give all due encouragement to the said fisheries."

In the face of this and all that has lately been written and said of the degeneracy of the British sailor, it appears strange indeed that so little stress has been laid on this cause of their supposed deterioration, and the loss to them of this advantage as seamen both in gaining a most practical knowledge at the same time that it was the most remunerative. Yet is the England of the present day so blinded to all these benefits that she actually gives away all these advantages to her great maritime rival.

Of old it was known and acknowledged that England owed her supremacy at sea to her fisheries, and that it was they that had made her navy so formidable. To the present ignorance of our rulers cannot be applied the old saying, "When ignorance is bliss 'tis folly to be wise," as in the

'present case this culpable ignorance may—indeed must—eventually lead to sore grief ; for truly has Napoleon III. outwitted our sage diplomatists in this, as in most other of the treaties between France and England since the present astute potentate has ruled the French nation, among which perhaps the most flagrant may be classed the Indian Office coolie-trade treaty, which denudes that country of its much required labour, and has in many ways most baneful influences on the interests of our Indian empire. The coal commercial treaty may be set down as another, the wisdom of which I shall leave, however, to those better versed in home diplomacy than I pretend to be, and it is universally admitted by all those who are acquainted with the subject that the French occupy by far the best fishing stations on the Newfoundland coast, and have been enabled by the assistance of their government to quite drive the English off the bank.

Their mode of fishing is likewise most destructive, viz. they veer out two quarter-inch lines of 300 fathoms long each ; on these small corks are placed at every twelve feet, to which baited metal hooks are attached ; these are coiled and lowered down in baskets from boats which sail along on each side of the ship, and these lines are drawn up occasionally by a windlass from the ship, and the average take of fish during one day is generally 400 full-sized codfish, but perhaps the worst of all is the illicit trade carried on with the British settlers in wines, spirits, &c. and for which they are generally paid in bait, by which means the English fisheries are again much injured.

To return to the Indian fisheries, which, though not quite of the same political magnitude to Great Britain, or acting exactly in the same way on home interests, yet are of the utmost consequence as a means of elevating a large class of British subjects, now sunk into the lowest scale, and likely, as at present treated, to remain so ; as whether owing to their poverty or generally isolated positions, they are perhaps amongst the most neglected classes in India ; and except in the vicinity of a few of the larger stations are totally without religious or other instruction, though in the smallest and poorest agricultural villages there is some sort of school for teaching natives, at least in the idiom of their district. Another reason for encouraging the fishermen along the coast, is the fact that owing to the few ports of refuge for large ships in distress, particularly in the Bay of Bengal, these men under better training would be found to be of the greatest assistance to our navies in times of emergency ; in fact, with the

buoyant material of which their boats are made, by the application of a little scientific knowledge, a life-boat system might be established all along the coast. In their present state, they never attempt the slightest aid to ships in distress ; the catermaran-men at Madras, however, are a noble exception, for they have done most heroic deeds in saving both life and property on occasions of shipwreck, during some of those fearful cyclones that visit that coast, and which shows there is no want of actual pluck for such undertakings in these people, and that with the means at hand, they would be as ready as most others to afford the required aid in emergencies.

Unfortunately, neither their present training nor wretchedly built boats encourage this, or indeed admit of its being done ; though their construction, and the buoyant nature of the material of which they are formed, would render them peculiarly fitted for life-boats, and the people themselves are naturally most fearless in the water, for all, even in childhood, are first-rate swimmers. They would likewise be found most useful in taking off supplies to vessels during war, or in meeting the ordinary requirements of commerce ; and considering the few ports for large ships along that extensive seaboard, this of itself would be a matter of some importance.

In the transport of grain and other supplies, and coasting communication and trade generally, they would be invaluable ; and what might not have been done by them for the relief of the starving millions during the late famine in Orissa, who were so long left to their cruel fate.

In fact, it would be a general boon, as well to English interests as to the natives themselves, were more encouragement given to these people, and some endeavour at least made to instil into these subjects of the British crown a little of that maritime spirit that the English boast of possessing pre-eminently over all others. Further, it would no doubt be the means of increasing and improving the much-needed coasting trade now carried on so primitively, and on a scale so little adequate to its requirements.

This, all acquainted with the west coast of the Bay of Bengal, or from the Sunderbunds to Cape Comorin, must know ; nor is the coasting trade and traffic on the opposite coast, or again, from Cape Comorin to Kurrachee on the eastern shores of the Arabian Sea, though very much better, by any means what it might be under better supervision.

I may here mention what, perhaps, may not be generally known, viz. that it was the naval and military officers of the old *régime* that first introduced coffee and tea-planting in the Madras presidency, and to them likewise is Bengal and Bombay indebted for many of their principal improvements; indeed, India generally owes much to them in other ways than merely their professional ones, and it is to *experienced* European energy and enterprise that she has to look for opening out her resources, which the natives in India are in no wise yet alive to, nor will they be for years, if ever; as, independently of their own want of zeal, energy, and enterprise, our system of government in India is not calculated to raise the character of those subject to it, nor is the present system of education one to do more than *over-educate the few*, leaving the mass of the people as ignorant as ever, and still more at the mercy of the few learned; in fact, it is an extension of the demoralizing *Brahmin-ridden* policy, which, perhaps, has more retarded the progress of civilization and improvement in India generally than anything else.

Having touched on education, I shall here draw attention to the extraordinary fact that no special encouragement is offered for those studies having a tendency to advance the agricultural interests, improvements, &c.; the principal study of the rising generation of India being that of the law, which must tend to the encouragement of litigation, the already predominant failing with the people of India.

I have ascertained a fact that I wish to draw particular attention to, viz. that works of irrigation as now heedlessly carried out are destroying the inland fisheries instead of being made to foster them, as they might, and should, were they conjointly worked as a means of fish culture as well as that of agriculture, transit, &c.; and which they might be not only with the greatest ease, but at little, if any, extra expense.

The worst feature, however, exists in the fact that the authorities do not appear to be alive either to this or to the necessity for adopting measures to prevent the fearful mischief that is now daily inflicted on the inland fisheries of India. For instance, at the anicuts across the Godaverry and Kistna rivers, millions of fish on their way up the river to spawn are annually destroyed. An engineer officer, who was employed for some years on those works, states that he has seen the wholesale and indiscriminate destruction of fish, full of roe, by tons; at which, not only the surrounding population by the thousands assisted, but dogs, jackals, birds, &c. lent their aid. Such a course as this, allowed to continue, must even-

tually not only exterminate the fish of these large rivers, but of all streams tributary to them ; in fact, as now carried on, works of irrigation cannot prove otherwise than destructive to the whole of the Indian inland fisheries.

This could not only be remedied, but the increased water supply be the means, by the appliances now so universally adopted in Great Britain, of multiplying this great staple of food for the millions of India an hundredfold, instead of as now, causing its destruction at the same ratio.

I must now conclude, at least for the present, the subject of the "Fisheries," owing to the absence of records, works of reference, &c. on which to form correct data ; not that I have exhausted the subject, which would take volumes from a more able penman than I pretend to be, but I hope on some other not far distant day that I may be prepared to give a continuation of it, when I trust to be able to show still more their vast importance to the Indian community at large, as well as to those connected with it.

Mr. BONNERJEE proposed a vote of thanks to Colonel Haly for the paper he had been good enough to read.

Mr. DADABHAI NAOROJI seconded the proposal, which being carried, the meeting separated.

EVENING MEETING, TUESDAY, AUGUST 13th,

LORD LYVEDEN IN THE CHAIR.

For discussing the advisability of presenting a Memorial to the Secretary of State for India, for affording certain necessary facilities for the admission of the Natives of India into

THE INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE.

Mr. DADABHAI NAOROJI—In proposing for your adoption this memorial, I am glad that I have a very easy task before me, unless I create some giants of my own imagination to knock them down, for on the principle of the memorial I see on all hands there is but one opinion. Beginning with our gracious Sovereign, she has emphatically declared with regard to the natives of India (in a proclamation dated the 1st of November, 1858), "We hold ourselves bound to the natives of our Indian territories by the same obligations of duty which bind us to all our other subjects, and those obligations, by the blessing of Almighty God, we shall faithfully and conscientiously fulfil." Then, referring to this particular point, the proclamation goes on, "It is our further will, that so far as may be, our subjects, of whatever race or creed, be freely and impartially admitted to offices in our service, the duties of which may be qualified by their education, ability, and integrity duly to discharge." That being the gracious declaration of the will and pleasure of our Sovereign, let us pass next to the opinion of Parliament upon the subject. The opinion of Parliament has been all along decisive upon this matter. As far back as 1833, in the Act of that year, it was distinctly declared, "That no native of the said territories, nor any natural born subject of his Majesty, resident therein, shall, by reason only of his religion, place of birth, descent, colour, or any of them, be disabled from holding any place, office, or employment under the said Company;" and on every occasion when Parliament has had the matter before it there has scarcely been any opposition to the principle enunciated by this memorial. Again, up to the latest day, during the past three or four debates in Parliament which

have taken place this year, we have seen the same principle emphatically declared ; even in last night's debate we find the same again brought forward in a prominent way by some who are friends to India, and who also wish well to England. While we have this testimony on the part of our Sovereign and Parliament, we find that the press upon this matter at least is unanimous. So far back as 1853, in commenting upon the petition presented by the Bombay Association, I find a large proportion of the press here admitted the justice and truth of the complaints made by the natives of India, as to the exclusiveness adopted in the civil service at the time, and urging that the natives should be to a suitable extent introduced into the enjoyment of the higher places of responsibility and trust. And recently, in commenting upon the debates that have taken place in Parliament, which I have just referred to, the press has been equally unanimous in reference to this subject. As far as Parliament and the press are any indication of the opinions of the people, we can say the people are at one on this subject. As far as my personal knowledge is concerned, during the twelve years I have been here, or while I was in India, I must confess that I have always found every Englishman that I have spoken to on the subject, admitting its justice, and assuring me that England will always do its duty towards India. I have been sometimes told that some civilians, perhaps, do not like it, but I should not do the injustice to say that I recollect any instance in which such an opinion has been expressed to me. The testimony of all eminent men in the Indian service is in favour of giving all necessary facilities for the admission of natives of India to the civil service, as well as that of all those eminent statesmen here who have made India their study. The interest that the natives feel in this subject I need not at all enlarge upon ; that can be at once conceived by their presence here ; the interest they would feel in the Government of India by having the responsibilities of that administration on their own heads, speaks for itself ; and at the same time the strength it would give to the British rule is also a matter of the greatest importance. Lastly, I find that the present Government itself has emphatically declared on this point. In the words I have quoted in the memorial, Sir Stafford Northcote has distinctly stated, "Nothing could be more wonderful than our empire in India ; but we ought to consider on what conditions we held it, and how our predecessors held it. The greatness of the Mogul empire depended upon the liberal

policy that was pursued by men like Akbar availing themselves of Hindú talent and assistance, and identifying themselves as far as possible with the people of the country. He thought that they ought to take a lesson from such a circumstance, and if they were to do their duty towards India, they could only discharge that duty by obtaining the assistance and counsel of all who were great and good in that country. It would be absurd in them to say that there was not a large fund of statesmanship and ability in the Indian character." With such complete testimony on the principle of this memorial, I think I was quite justified in saying at the beginning that my task was a very easy one. This last extract, again, enables me to dispose of another point, namely, as to the capacity of the natives of India for administration and for high education. I may at once leave that alone, because at this time of day, after the education which has been received by the natives of India, after the results as shown by the university examinations, and with the actual facts of the efficiency of the services rendered by the natives of India, whenever they are employed in any office of responsibility and trust, it would be simply ridiculous on my part to try to prove to you their capacity for administration and for study, and their high character. The importance and justice of introducing natives of India into the administration to a proper extent, has been urged by various eminent men at different times before committees of the Houses of Parliament. If I had considered it necessary, I could have collected a volume of such extracts. I need only glance at this point, namely, the assistance which the Government of India would derive from the native element being introduced into it. With the best intentions, Englishmen cannot understand the natives of India as a body; their feelings, their ways of thought, and their original education, are so different, that with the best intentions on the part of Englishmen, they very often fail in pointing out the exact remedies for any complaints made by the natives; but if the natives of India were introduced to a proper extent into the administration of the country, naturally their own countrymen would have more sympathy with them. Those native administrators would know where the exact difficulties were, and many of the problems of the present day, to grapple with which all the energies of our English administrators are taxed in vain, would be solved most easily. We would then have the sympathy of the natives with the British rulers, and one of the results of such a

concession to the natives would be gratitude on their part, which would form a strong foundation for the upholding of the British rule in India. And when I advocate that which would have a tendency to uphold the British rule in India, it is not for the sake of the English, but for the sake of the natives themselves. They have every reason to congratulate themselves on being under the British rule, after the knowledge they have now derived, and are every day deriving, of the benefits of it. I come, then, to the practical part of the memorial itself. At present the arrangement is that the civil service examination is open to all British subjects ; and under that arrangement, no doubt, the natives of India can come here, and they have come here, and undergone the competitive examination (one has passed, and is now serving in India). But if we refer back to the gracious words of our Sovereign, that the natives of India be admitted "freely and impartially," the question naturally arises whether under the present arrangement that declaration and that assurance is practically given effect to. The difficulty on the face of it is this, that the natives are put to the disadvantage of coming over here and remaining here for several years. The risk of losing a sum of money which perhaps they cannot afford, is in itself a disadvantage sufficient to require some change in the arrangement. But, supposing even some few were willing to come here and to compete in the examination, it is not desirable that only those few should be admitted into the civil service ; the interests of the civil service require that those serving in it, whether native or English, should be of the highest talents. We do not want those having the longest purses only, but what we want is—in the words of Sir Stafford Northcote—the assistance and counsel of all who are great and good in the country ; and we cannot attain that object unless we have a competitive examination which would enable *all* the best men of India to compete for appointments in the Indian civil service. Such are the men who ought to be introduced into that service. Therefore, putting aside all the disadvantages that the native is put to in coming over to this country, and which are in themselves sufficient to require that some alteration should be made in the present arrangement, the very best interests of the service require that some competition should take place in India, whether at an earlier stage or at a later stage ; and that a selection should be made, not only of those who can afford to spend a few thousands to come here, but of those who possess the *best* talent among the people. I have nothing more to say than to refer to

the plan I have suggested in the memorial, and I have left it as general as possible, because, with the evidence before us of the interest which Sir Stafford Northcote has taken in the subject, and the emphatic manner in which he has expressed his views as to the necessity and justice of introducing the native element into the service, I can, with the utmost confidence, leave any of the details that would be best suited for the purpose to himself. The natives of India are willing to submit to any standard ; if they could not come up to the standard required by the service, it would be their own fault, and nobody would have any right to complain ; but as long as they can assert that they would be able to stand any standard of examination which they may be reasonably subjected to, it is only just and proper that they should have the opportunity given them. Take, for instance, the case of the fair trial given to the natives for acquiring high education. There were no B.A.'s or M.A.'s before. The universities being established, we know the result, that the natives have fully vindicated their intellect. And they only ask a fair trial for the civil service. I am desirous, that instead of taking up more of your time, the members present should discuss this fully, and I therefore conclude as I began with the words of our Sovereign, "In their prosperity will be our strength, in their contentment our security, and in their gratitude our best reward ;" and my only prayer is, that a reward nobler than that which has ever been attained by any nation, or any individual, may be earned by our British rulers.

Mr. FOWLER—My Lord and Gentlemen : I had hoped that the honour of seconding this memorial would have fallen to my gallant friend General North, beside me, who is much more competent to speak to you on such a subject than I am, and whose observations carry with them a weight which mine cannot command. I owe an apology to this meeting for addressing them on this topic, because it is obvious that those who have had a long practical acquaintance with the administration of India can speak with a force which cannot be commanded by one who has never been in that country ; and therefore all I can do on the present occasion is to confine myself to general principles with regard to this most important subject. We have listened to a most able and exhaustive speech with regard to this very important question, and I think the question must have forcibly presented itself to the mind of every one present, whether one who could so strongly and so ably set forth a case such as

this, is not a gentleman who might most advantageously and properly be charged with the highest functions in connexion with the government of India. We must all feel that those who can so forcibly put forth their arguments are those who might most properly be entrusted with a share of the government of the country that gave them birth. In former times the proposition used to be brought forward that India was gained by the sword, and that by the sword it must be maintained. Now I cannot concur in that sentiment. My belief is, that the position which Providence has given to England in India is a position given for high and noble purposes, and that it is our duty to do all in our power for the social and moral elevation of that country. If we do not govern that country better than it was governed by the Moguls and the other races that preceded us, it will be a disgrace to the civilization of which England makes a boast. Our object should be to do everything in our power for the civilization and happiness of the people placed under our Government in India, and I think that cannot be so strongly done in any way as by calling to our councils the practical knowledge of those who, owing their birth to that country, are able to afford to the Government an amount of experience which can hardly be acquired by those who have been born in and spent the earlier portion of their lives in another country. I have heard it remarked that the Government of India of late years has suffered from this circumstance, that whereas a hundred years ago the great men who laid the foundation of the English Government in India went out to India for their lives—such men as Lord Clive, Warren Hastings, and Sir John Malcolm, and other great men whose names form household words in India, having gone to India with very little view of ever returning to this country, having settled in that country and become permanently associated with it—now, it is said (and I am speaking before those whose opinions on this subject are entitled to great weight, which mine cannot be) instead of that, owing to the great facilities of communication between England and India, Englishmen who go out to India do not acquire that permanent knowledge of the country and that permanent interest in it that were acquired by their predecessors a hundred years ago. That is what I have heard stated, and many gentlemen present are better able to judge whether that is true than I am; but if true, and for the purposes of argument I will assume it is, there can be no question that it would be of the greatest advantage to associate with those English gentlemen to whom is committed the government of India

those who, owing their birth to that country, take the deepest interest in its welfare. Now such being the case, knowing that the vast population of India must take a great interest in the welfare of that country, and knowing further that the native population produces men of the highest genius, and that gentlemen come from that country perfectly competent for any honour in the gift of the crown, I think that we must feel that the time has arrived when it is most important that her Majesty should extend to the people of India a greater share in the government of that country than they have ever yet enjoyed. We Englishmen must all hope that the connexion of India with England may be a permanent connexion ; but coupled with that hope, we must feel that if it is to be a permanent connexion it must be because it is a connexion beneficial to the vast population of India, to those vast races over whom, in the ordering of Providence at the present moment, England exercises such a great influence. It is the duty of the governing power to exercise its government for the happiness of those placed under its dominion ; and we can only do, so by acting in accordance with the principles of right and justice. We should wish that every subject of her Majesty should feel that there is no distinction between natives of India and Englishmen, that all have an equal claim on the attention of that Sovereign under whom it is the privilege of each of us to live. Indians or Englishmen ought equally to be the subject of the regard of the paternal government, and ought equally to have an opportunity of rising to the highest honours in the gift of the crown, if they have the requisite abilities ; and such being the case, I think it is only justice that the measure which is sketched out in the memorial submitted to this meeting by my friend Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji should be carried out. I earnestly hope that the memorial may be adopted, and that the Government, acting on the principles laid down in that memorial, may have the honour and happiness of contributing to the contentment and gratitude of the people of India, and that the adoption of that policy may be a further means of cementing the bond of union between the vast races of India and the people of England.

Sir HERBERT EDWARDES—I rise to propose an amendment to the memorial which has been proposed by Mr. Dadabhai, an amendment not in contradiction or hostility to that memorial, but rather in the nature of an addition to it. So far from proposing anything hostile to the memorial, I most heartily and cordially concur in every sentiment which Mr. Dadabhai has introduced into it, without exception ; but

I think that he has confined himself to too narrow a point, and the object of the amendment which I have now to propose for the consideration of this meeting is to widen the basis of this memorial. Mr. Dadabhai's proposal is directed simply to getting entrance into the civil service for a certain number of his fellow-countrymen. Now, that is a very legitimate and a most excellent object, and I entirely share in the desire to see that result; and before passing on to my own proposed addition I would just say, that the simple fact that notwithstanding that the Indian civil service has been thrown open for twelve years to the whole of India, only one single native has obtained admission into it under the existing rules, in itself proves that there is something wrong, and that some remedy requires to be applied; because it is utterly inconsistent with the natural ability of the people of India, that in twelve years only one single native should have obtained admission into the civil service of India. I have passed my life among that people, and I state as my deliberate opinion that the intellect of the natives of India is in no whit inferior to that of Europeans. I state that as my firm conviction, and I have not only shared in the military but in the civil administration of provinces in India, and I have had the widest experience of the natives of India. It is impossible for any European to have a wider experience of the natives than I have had. I have passed my life among them; and I do declare that the intellect of the natives of India is in every way equal to the intellect of the natives of our own country. There are some qualities of that intellect in which we vary, and that lies at the root of the whole matter. There are hereditary qualities which come down in social forms, and in political forms, and those qualities are stamped upon the character of the people, whether for good or evil. That is the history of the differences between the natives and the Europeans and the faults which we Englishmen are in the habit of finding with the natives of India are traceable solely to those hereditary and historic causes. Every well-wisher of the people of India should endeavour to remove those causes; and how is that to be done? It must be done by applying the Western element to the Oriental mind. Turning from Mr. Dadabhai's proposition for getting a few of his countrymen into the civil service, and applying the remarks I have made, I have to offer for the consideration of the meeting this amendment, or rather addition. After the words "Be required to come to England to pass their further examinations with

the selected candidates of this country," I would propose to insert this : "In the same spirit, and with kindred objects in view, for the general good of India, we would ask you to extend your kind encouragement to native youths of promise and ability to come to England for the completion of their education. We believe that if scholarships, tenable for five years in this country, were to be annually awarded by competitive examination in India to native candidates between the ages of fifteen and seventeen, some would compete successfully in England for the Indian civil service, while others would return in various professions to India, and where by degrees they would form an enlightened and unprejudiced class, exercising a great and beneficial influence on native society, and constituting a link between the masses of the people and their English rulers." I would propose that as taking a wider scope than the memorial itself, and I think it forms a fit addition to the memorial which Mr. Dadabhai has proposed. I have made inquiries, chiefly through Captain Powlett, who sits near me, and also through Mr. Dadabhai, into the extent to which natives of India avail themselves of education in England, and this is what I find to be the result—I find that out of 200,000,000 natives of India only twenty-five are at this moment completing their education in England. What is that to be attributed to ? To the difficulty that they experience in coming over here, and the uncertainty which they have of turning their education to any good account. As Mr. Dadabhai has said, we are at present getting only chance comers, men who happen to have, or whose friends happen to have, long purses, and who are able to pay the expenses of their coming over. Without for a moment derogating from the abilities of those who have come over to England under those circumstances, I think as a general principle it will be admitted at once that it would be better for India that we should get the talent, the rising ability, the promise and the flower of the country, to come over and study, and that they should go back accoutred with all the armour of English education to fight the battle of civilization and patriotism, than that we should be dealing with chance comers who happen to have wealthy relations to enable them to come over to England to be educated and to undergo the competitive examination. As to those twenty-five native students to whom I have referred, I have made inquiries, and I find the most satisfactory account rendered of the whole of them. I myself have seen some of them occasionally in society here, and they seem to be most promising young men ; and I

would ask this meeting whether they do not agree with me when I say that a native of India, after he has been in England two or three years pursuing his studies here, is a totally changed and different man to what he was when he first landed on these shores? I have myself spoken to natives of India who have come over here for their education, and they have admitted that first one prejudice and then another has fallen off; that first one error and then another has been corrected in their minds. It requires no argument to prove that the education which the natives of India are now getting in India is lopsided and defective, and never can be corrected or rendered safe and sound and unprejudiced till you bring those men into this country, associate them with our countrymen, let them run their chances here, let them drink from the stream at its source, and then let them go back to their country; and whether they get into the civil service, whether they become barristers, whether they become merchants, whether they become civil engineers, or whether they remain as private gentlemen, I look upon those men as being pioneers of civilization, the future reformers of their country. Before I sit down I may just say one word to Englishmen, and not to natives. I ask you to consider the present position of India. I ask you to reflect upon the point to which education has come in that land. There you see men educated by us, and trained by us to think and look below the surface. Those men are examining not only the institutions of their own country, but of ours. They are drinking deep of our literature, from which thoughts of freedom, liberty, and progress are perfectly inseparable, and which run through every line of every book written by every free Englishman. God forbid that it should be otherwise. Will you allow those men to become the leaders of native opinion and the reformers of their country, and will you leave them with the one-sided view of life, the one-sided view of history, and the one-sided view of morals and ethics which they acquire in their own country; or will you not rather invite the flower of that country over here? Will you not endeavour to correct their national errors, their national evils, and will you not hold out to them the right hand of goodwill and friendship; and having equipped them with all the knowledge which you possess yourselves, send them back with a God speed to their own country to be the pioneers of our civilization and progress? I beg to move that that which I have read be added to the memorial.

Captain POWLETT—I shall not attempt to add a single word to what Sir Herbert Edwardes has said, but I will simply second his amendment.

General NORTH—My Lord and Gentlemen: After the manner in which this proposition has been brought before the meeting, I think there remains very little to be said about it, and whether Sir Herbert Edwardes' amendment is considered as taking the place of the original proposition, or merely as an addition to it, the observations I have to offer will, I hope, be in support of it, whichever way it is. I merely wish to make a few remarks in support of the advantages which the Government would derive in a military point of view from carrying out to its fullest extent the proposals we have heard to-night for facilitating to a large extent the admission of the natives of India into situations of emolument and trust in the administration of India. Before doing so, if you will allow me, I will read a few extracts from a very influential paper in this country, the *Saturday Review*, of the 27th of last month, from an article headed, "Intervention in Central Asia." The writer commences by saying, "Apparently the English and Indian Governments continue utterly indifferent to the course of events in Central Asia. A settled policy of non-intervention; a vague belief that, although circumstances are continually changing, the experience of twenty-five years ago shewed the utter impracticability of the country through which India must be reached, and that India, therefore, is secure; and an entirely vague notion that we shall get on better with Russian civilization than with Asiatic barbarism on our frontiers, seems to blind our rulers to the fact that the neighbourhood of a great power to India must essentially modify every past arrangement, moral or material, for defence. This apathy cannot be too much condemned. It is discreditable and unsafe to close our eyes to a great political danger, and it is impossible to doubt that in Central Asia there is a great and imminent danger to our empire. . . . Russia is not entirely innocent in those operations which bring her near to India. There is abundant evidence of deliberation and malice *prepense*, and in this there is all the more reason why the defenders of India should be watchful. . . . We ought not to be doing nothing, as seems to be the case, through their ignorance and neglect of the matter. If any disaster should happen, it will be disgraceful to have it regarded that an empire, fortunate above measure in having no formidable neighbours, allowed a great power to

approach it by rapid steps, not only without hindrance, but almost with open encouragement, and without taking a single step to meet the additional exigencies of defence produced by the neighbourhood of that power. Within the last week or two news has been received indicating that our rival is making another great stride in the path of conquest, and thus rendering more urgent than ever the adoption of precautionary measures. A new campaign against Bokhara has commenced, to result, according to precedent, in the formal annexation of the whole state to Russia, and the advancement of Russian posts, to the banks of the Oxus. . . . In a recent article we explained the danger that there is to India with the Russians no further advanced than Djuzak, but it may be expedient already to consider what change will be made when Samarcand and Bokhara have been annexed, and the invaders have gained the Oxus—events likely enough to take place within the next month or two, if some of them, indeed, have not been accomplished while peace was being talked of at Orenburg. It is obviously, then, no small gain to the Russians to reduce by 200 miles and more the marching distance from their own to the Indian frontier by the subsidiary road we have described. Instead of being about 900, they will only be between 600 and 700 miles from Peshawur, by way of Balkh and Cabul. At the same rate of progress, if unchecked, their frontier will touch India at Peshawur, and Herat, Cabul, and Candahar will all be in their hands in four or five years. . . . Between them and Herat there will only intervene a sparsely peopled district, incapable of resistance, while the whole distance to be traversed from the frontier will be little over 300 miles. One has only to remember what long distances cavalry expeditions travelled through sparsely peopled districts during the American war, and to consider that an expedition to take Herat need be little more than a cavalry raid, and it will be easily understood what temptations the Russians will have to engage in the attempt. An infantry force could accomplish the distance by forced marches in twelve or thirteen days, and on neither of the roads to be taken would the desert interpose many difficulties. One road, to the west, would lead through the desert to Mero, a distance of 100 miles; but there are some good wells at stages of no more than a day's journey from each other, while General Tcherniaieff showed in the beginning of last year that he could take a Russian army over twice the breadth of a completely waterless desert. That Mero is accessible is further proved by the frequent sieges it has undergone. Beyond that point there is at

any rate no difficulty, the path leading up the fertile valley of the Mourghat a considerable distance, and thence for the most part through a rich country, only lying fallow through the anarchy of the land, to the plain of Herat.... The enterprise being so easy, the danger to Herat must be considered imminent, and in that danger lies the necessity for immediate action. We should deserve to lose India if we permitted the Russians unmolested so to place themselves, that they could seize Herat in a few days' time, much more if we allowed them to settle in Herat itself, covering the line of their advance with roads, and developing the resources of the magnificent region around." And the writer concludes by saying, "We must again urge, however, as the most vital thing to be done, resolute intervention in Central Asia. Mere diplomacy is not to be trusted. It might happen that while Prince Gortchakoff was assuring our Ambassador at St. Petersburg of the most pacific intentions, the troops of his master would be executing on the border the very movements to which objection is made. To be perfectly safe, England must treat the Russian advance as a challenge to a race for Herat. The Russians have already the advantage of being so much nearer the goal. The Indian frontier is 800 miles off, but the Russian is only about 500, and the distance will soon be much less. We are nevertheless in this favourable position, that our seizure of the place would be no act of war against Russia, while the Russians know that their capture of it could only bear a hostile interpretation. Our only object would be the defence of a great empire, whereas their object would be to secure a basis for attack. Such an intervention would, besides, assist diplomatic action. In any case the Russians must not be allowed to cross the Oxus, the left bank of which, and the mountains which shut it in from the south, form the first line of Indian defence ; yet they could not be easily prevented from crossing, unless by an English force stationed at Herat, and able at will to move to any part of the left bank of the river. The presence of such a force would obviously be of great service in enforcing our diplomatic demand. But if we are to act at all, we must act at once. Another year we may be forestalled, and if so, we may then have no choice but to go to war with Russia, and fight, under great disadvantages, for that outwork in Central Asia, which might now be occupied without a contest and without question." Now, my Lord, I quote this article as shewing the danger which exists to our Indian Empire from allowing an European power to come close to it, and I wish to urge the adoption

of the policy that has been brought before you by Mr. Dadabhai to-night, as the means of reducing that danger by rendering India tranquil and contented with our rule. It appears to me, that the more you admit the natives of India to partake in the appointments in the civil and military services of India, the more you would diminish the enormous expenditure required to keep up the present army in India. Let India be content, and though Russia may come to its frontier, you need have no fear. With a contented population ready to fight for its defence, what do you want with 70,000 Europeans in the country? In a military point of view, I think the argument of this writer is quite wrong. There is no doubt whatever that the presence of the Russians at Cabul, and Candahar, and at Herat, would be a signal for very great discontent breaking out in India; but if we ever are to fight with Russia for Indian territory, the battle-field will not be above the Passes. If Sir Henry Rawlinson were here to-night he would bear me out in my statement that there is nothing that Russia would desire more than to see us saddled again with Cabul, Candahar, and Herat. I believe myself that Russia and Russian intrigue had a good deal to do with the lamentable expedition to Affghanistan: the Russian advance was a bugbear, and we then knew little or nothing about the countries, or what was Russia's object. I believe it to be to overrun those countries with hordes of half-disciplined cavalry, and to keep them in subjection, in order that when the time comes for her to make her advance on Constantinople, a large number of European troops should be kept in India. Russia could not get a sufficient fully equipped force through the tremendous passes on the eastward of Affghanistan, in any state capable of meeting a British force in the plains of Peshawur, provided that the population of India in rear of that force is tranquil, contented, and ready to assist to repel the invader. I have been in those passes, and I know that the country is difficult in the extreme for a military force; and to give you an illustration of it, the Khyber Pass, (one of the two most practicable passes from Affghanistan to the frontier of India), from Cabul to Peshawur, is ten days' march in length; the road lies for the most part through the bed of a watercourse, with enormous mountains on either side, and it would be impossible for a division of more than 5,000 men to march through it at once—therefore the head of the invading column would be debouching on the plain of Peshawur, while the rear would be at Cabul, with ten days' march interval between. You could, no doubt, rouse the Affghan population

beforehand, who would give a Russian army attempting to proceed through those passes the greatest possible annoyance. In what state would it be then to encounter our fresh forces on the banks of the Indus? I merely mention these things to show that it is the opinion of influential people in India, and we may suppose it is a part of the public opinion in England, when we see it in such an influential portion of the press as the *Saturday Review*, that we ought to take those military defensive measures by occupying the ground before Russia does. I say, No, admit the natives of India to employment in India, make them satisfied with your rule, and you want neither bayonets nor the sword to retain that country for ever in your possession.

Mr. FLEMING—Concurring entirely in the principles laid down in the memorial proposed by Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, I yet trust that he will adopt the amendment of Sir Herbert Edwardes, which seems to put the matter on a wider basis, and to be in nowise inconsistent with the object Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji has in view. The object of Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji is to introduce into the civil service Indian youths, and I fancy there can be very little difference of opinion as to the expediency of admitting them into that service; but if it were carried out in the way he has proposed it seems to me that the number of youths who passed annually in India would be very limited, whereas under such an arrangement as that proposed by Sir Herbert Edwardes a very much larger number of youths would be accepted and passed on for education in England, who would be free to compete for the Indian civil service, who would hold their own in a competition with the youths of England; and who, if they failed in the examination for the Indian civil service, would receive the advantage of a Western education, and return to their own country to promote the interests of their fellow-countrymen. It seems to me that our government of India must necessarily be a progressive government. The generation which has had experience of native rule is just passing away, the people who are now rising up have known only our English rule—they see the faults that pertain to our government—they know nothing of the faults of the rule which preceded it, and they look back, as human beings always do upon the past, as something glorious and pleasant, and as being better than the present, and they think the native rule was not so bad, and perhaps they wish to go back to it, they only see the evils of the existing rule. I say necessarily our rule in India must be a progressive one, and grounded upon the highest morality and the highest expediency.

Among other things we should give facilities for the admission of natives to the highest posts in the Indian civil service. As said by Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, and as urged also by Sir Herbert Edwardes, it is essential that those who aspire to that service should have the advantages of a Western education. It is perfectly essential that they should come to this country. The door to the civil service at present is open to any British subject, but practically it is closed to the subjects of India ; as Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji said, those who have the longest purses come over to this country, but many of those who have the longest heads have not the longest purses, and those cannot come forward ; but by such a system as has been proposed we should command the highest native talent in India, we should bring promising native youths to this country, where they would be educated and fitted to improve their fellow-countrymen on their return to India. The position of England in India is a very peculiar one. It seems a strange thing that a small and resolute people should hold in subjection such a large and enormous empire ; but no doubt we have been placed in our position in India by Providence for great and wise ends, and we Englishmen should, if possible, seek to promote those wise ends. We need not be very cunning about the matter, but there are obvious duties devolving upon us, and one of the most obvious duties is to raise the people we are governing, if possible, to our own high standard of freedom ; and towards that end it seems to me that there can be no better way than that of admitting the natives to the highest possible posts. If we find difficulties in the way of the people of India attaining to those high posts, I think it behoves us to do all in our power to remove those difficulties, and to give to those natives who show that they possess the requisite ability, the freest access to those posts.

Mr. HODGSON PRATT—I wish to make a few observations upon this subject, having paid a great deal of attention to it for many years. It is satisfactory to notice the immense advance that opinion upon the matter seems to have made in a few years. Six or seven years ago my friends all called me Quixotic, because I had enunciated in a pamphlet views which I have heard everyone express this evening. If public opinion advance at the same rate during the next ten years, all the objects we are advocating here we may expect to see accomplished. I feel that the amendment is of more importance than the original memorial, to which it is proposed to be appended. I start by saying that I think it is impossible to overrate the influence and value of the civil service in India. The

position of that service is a position unlike that of almost any other body of men at any period of human history. Looking at it in all its aspects, I have always held that the qualifications of those belonging to that civil service cannot be rated too highly ; that we are not simply to look upon that service as a body of men for the purpose of administering the government, but, looking at the position it holds in India, as a body of men which must exercise a most powerful influence upon the whole of society at large. It is not simply a body of administrators, it is a body of social reformers, a body which shall again electrify the great mass of the population of India, who seem to have become petrified in the older form of civilization, till the power of creating and originating seems to have died out. Therefore, the position held by this civil service is one of the most momentous kind, and one requiring the highest possible qualifications in those who belong to it ; and that being so, I think it is impossible to say that because an individual is able to pass a certain number of examinations in a certain number of things, therefore, *ipso facto*, he is qualified to take a place in a service holding the very special and peculiar position held by the civil service of India. I have held that view always as regards England, and I hold it as regards the natives of India. I have always held that the mere fact of a native or European passing the examination in certain subjects does not therefore qualify him to hold that position. We must endeavour to find whether other qualifications are or are not in that man. It appears to me that the mover of this memorial has recognised what I wish particularly to lay stress upon, viz. the importance of members of the civil service of India being persons who should have some other qualifications than their being able to answer certain questions in the examination room ; otherwise he would not have proposed that after their passing the first examination in India, they should come to this country in order to pass a second examination here. He, no doubt, had in his view the advantages, socially, morally, intellectually, and politically, which association with Englishmen, in England, would give to those natives of India. I am sure that that is the view he holds ; but that being his view, is the object sufficiently answered by bringing the young men to this country who may pass such an examination, and keeping them in this country for the period of two years, that being the period that ordinarily elapses between the first and second examinations ? I feel that the earlier those future members of the civil service came under the influence of European society, the better it would

be for themselves and the better it would be for the country they are to influence. And in that view I consider the suggestion of scholarships which I made in a pamphlet published by me several years ago, of the highest importance to both countries. It is not sufficient that there should be a few men in the peculiar position of civil servants. We want the natives of India to be acted upon through independent members of society, not merely those of the official class but those in every rank of life ; and I am inclined to think that merchants, barristers, civil engineers, medical men, clergymen, and independent members of society possibly would exercise a far greater influence upon the mass of native society than mere civil servants, because the civil servant in India, whether native or European, must hold a certain isolated position. There are many reasons why he should hold himself, to a certain extent, aloof from ordinary society. It is well known that even Englishmen have felt that ; even Englishmen in the interior of India have often found it undesirable to be on too intimate terms with the planters around them, in consequence of the atmosphere of distrust and suspicion in which all men who hold a public position have more or less to live. The natives of India who may be appointed to posts in the civil service may find themselves in the same position ; they may find their acts narrowly and suspiciously looked at by their fellow-countrymen. I have found it so repeatedly. I have always been most anxious to see the natives of India placed in every position they were qualified to fill, but have found that the moment a native was placed in any position of eminence, his fellow-countrymen all around him were ready to backbite and slander him. It is natural that it should be so, in the first instance. When we look at the condition of native society at present it could not be otherwise ; in time it will not be so, but at present it is so ; therefore natives of India appointed to offices under the Government would not be able to mix so fully with their countrymen, and would not be so able to exercise that social influence on their fellow-countrymen which men occupying an independent position would be able to do. Therefore, it is highly important that we should endeavour gradually to train up a number of independent members of society who shall act as pioneers of every kind of progress among their countrymen. It is important that those pioneers should be caught when young, that they should be brought to this country at a sufficiently early age to come fully under English impressions and English influences, when they have not been too much

steeped in the injurious prejudices, and habits, and ideas of native society. I am quite sure that if a native comes early to this country he will be more likely to go back a useful man than if he has become too much hardened in the ideas of the country to which he belongs. Instead of there being a prior examination in India, I would much prefer seeing those natives who contemplate becoming civil servants of India come over to this country in the hope of passing the examination here; but coming, while here, under all the beneficial influences which we have been speaking of, and taking their chance with their English competitors of passing through the civil service. Those men would be far more useful, and far more valuable civil servants than men who, after remaining in India a certain time, receiving their education there, passed an examination in Calcutta, and then came to England at a comparatively later period of life to pass a few years here. They would be more respected by their fellow-countrymen. One of the great practical difficulties of having native civil servants is this—you might have a native officer of high position with Anglo-Saxons as his juniors under him. Those are, however, difficulties that should never interfere with the great principle we have in view. When we are sure that a principle is true and just and right, let us carry it out, no matter what the practical difficulties may be in the way of it; but still those practical difficulties must be looked at and grappled with. I wish to insist upon this, that a native of India who would come to this country and pass several years in this country, and who would go to the universities of this country, and find his way through that means into the civil service of India, would be more respected by his English fellow-servants than a man passing in the way suggested this evening. They would feel, This man is a man on a footing with us, he has become Anglicised, he has come under the same influences as we have. There would not be that distinction between feelings and principles and habits that there would be in the other case. If a young man came in early life over to England and received his education here, though he might fail in the competitive examination, still his chances of success in India would be enormously increased by his having resided in this country. If a young man is worth anything, after five or six years at a university, and after being trained for one profession or another, if that man be of any ability his chances of success in life are enormously greater than those of a man who has not been in this country; therefore,

though he does not pass his civil service examination, he returns to his own country to occupy a position in which he can be far more useful to his countrymen and himself than if he had passed as a civil servant. Then, again, there is another point which it is extremely important to impress upon the natives of India. They have the idea, which it would be desirable they should get rid of, that the only position in life for a man worth having is that of being a servant of the Government. From the historic circumstances of the country, and the history of our relations with the people of India, that idea has naturally grown up until that bureaucratic notion which is the curse of many countries on the continent, is in danger of being the curse of India also. The natives of India desire to see their sons in the service of the Government, instead of being content to see them making their way in the world through the medium of commerce or in independent professions. That idea they get not only from themselves, but they get it also from English friends and acquaintances in India; they belong to a bureaucracy, and they attach far more importance to their own class than to any other class in the community. The minds of Englishmen get perverted by this worship of the governmental class. I will conclude by saying that I think the amendment proposed by Sir Herbert Edwardes is of more importance than the original resolution, valuable as that is.

Rev. HORMUSJEE PESTONJEE—As nearly half-a-dozen of our European friends have supported the proposition made by my native friend Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, it may perhaps be as well that another native gentleman should coincide with the views which our European friends have already expressed; and therefore I beg to second the amendment proposed, which perhaps can scarcely be styled an amendment, but an addition to the motion already proposed, it being a proposition which widens the scope of the original memorial, giving it an impetus and a practical shape. It is just as well that a native should rise to second that amendment, seeing that it might appear, if a native made a proposal and only Europeans spoke in favour of an amendment to it, that the natives must be dissatisfied. That is far from being the case; we heartily concur in all that has been said, and we are very thankful for the amendment. I cannot say how heartily I coincide with many of the sentiments which have been expressed in regard to the desirableness of bringing over the youths of India, and letting them breathe the intellectual, social, moral,

and spiritual atmosphere of England. Let them come here, let them have their minds expanded and their hearts enlarged, let them come and unite with parties of different denominations and with different classes of people, and let them return home thus improved ; which cannot be before two years are expired, for there are four examinations in connexion with the civil service, each of which examinations must be within six months, consequently they must spend two years at least here—it might be more if they took advantage of the proposal made by Sir Herbert Edwardes, if that should be carried out before they underwent the competitive examination. The earlier they come, the more pure atmosphere will they breathe here, and the fitter will they be to go back to their own country and to be useful members of society. I speak from my own personal experience, and from observation too. I find, that with all my book-knowledge of Great Britain, and with all my intercourse with my most intimate and estimable friends in India, since I have been here, my views about the large-heartedness of Englishmen have been greatly altered and greatly improved. Let those lads come as lads, and go back as men ; by that means an impetus would be given for raising up the sons of India for high positions of responsibility in the Government. Allusion has already been made, and very properly made, to the small number of government situations filled by natives. Is it not a most lamentable fact that ten years after this movement was set on foot, there should be just one native that has entered the civil service ? The point has been so fully discussed that I need not dwell upon it.

Let me call your attention to this practical view of the question. Out of each of our seminaries in the different Presidencies of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, and different parts of the interior, out of the government institution in Bombay, out of the Free Church, and other institutions in Bombay,—out of each of those no less, I believe, on an average, than three hundred young men pass every third year, finishing their curriculum. What are we to do with those thousands of young men, without any employment, without any of the services of the Government being open to them or put within their reach ? Is it to be wondered at that after a time there must be a murmuring, a sort of discontent, among them ? Why not guard against all that ? What we are considering would have the effect of diminishing that feeling of discontent among the natives. I believe the amendment is well calculated to show to them that instead of desiring to create discontent, Englishmen themselves are devising measures to bring

about the greater good of the sons of India. If we carry out such measures we shall have, not discontent, but entire satisfaction and gratification and kindly feeling between the English and the natives. One word, and I shall have concluded, for I know there are many others who wish to speak. I want to express the native sentiments here now, and I wish, as the honourable gentleman who proposed the amendment spoke especially to his own countrymen, to be allowed to speak to my countrymen. Beloved friends, let us really take the thing heartily into our hands, and let us view the matter in its right aspect. In order to let this movement have its full scope, and in order that it may take its own practical course, let us natives of India, heart and soul, join in this noble cause ; let us cordially second, not only the motion but the amendment, in the hope that great things may result therefrom. Though we are as yet a little body, we may presently achieve great things.

Mr. BONNERJEE said, that at present the natives of India were practically shut out from the civil service because they could not afford the expense of a visit to this country in order to undertake the necessary examinations. Though the natives of India at the present moment were allowed to take part in the administration of the country to a very considerable extent, still they were kept in the background, not having a share in the responsibility of the government. In the uncovenanted civil service, native judges adjudicated cases involving thousands and thousands of pounds, and they discharged their duties most faithfully and satisfactorily. The proposition of the memorial was, that those natives should not be allowed to remain in the background, but that by being changed from the uncovenanted service to the covenanted service they might share in the emoluments which appertained to the civil service, and have a wider scope for the exercise of those talents which admittedly they possessed. In answer to the objection which might probably be raised, that it would be a novelty to introduce these examinations into India, he said that the transference of the examinations into India would not be introducing a novel principle into the country, because the principle already existed in the country, and it would be only giving the natives of India more scope for their abilities. Dealing with the amendment proposed by Sir Herbert Edwardes, he advocated any arrangement which would induce a great number of natives to come to this country to receive an English education. England had done much in the way of the education of the people of India, and also in the way of throw-

ing open to them the door to various important posts ; and he hoped it would not stop short, but go to the full extent of the principle upon which it had already proceeded, in pursuing which policy it might be assumed that within fifty years it would find India prosperous, educated, and wealthy, and assisting England in the civilization of the world.

The CHAIRMAN—This interesting discussion having already made some progress, perhaps you will allow me to state my opinion before it proceeds further. I do not wish to interfere with the progress of the discussion, but I should like to state at this period my opinion in order that it may be canvassed by any speakers who may hereafter take part in the discussion. As to the principle of the admission of Indians to the civil service I think all are agreed. I do not think any one would be so unwise as to doubt the advisability of it. The worst of the matter is that the principle has been so long admitted that it has never been enforced. In 1833, as Mr. Dadabhai has said, the principle was first enunciated by Parliament. I remember it well, for I had just come into Parliament at the time, and it was pronounced to be the noblest idea ever embodied in an Act of Parliament, that whatever a man's religion, or colour, or race, he should be equally entitled to be admitted into the East India civil service. How was that acted upon ? For years it was neglected, and at last, when my honourable friend Lord Broughton, who was then Sir John Cam Hobhouse, the President of the Board of Control, proposed to give a writership to a native, every obstacle was thrown in his way, and he found it so difficult to get through the various technicalities that he was obliged to withdraw his point. Afterwards Mr. Macaulay, in one of his famous speeches, reiterated his opinion that the principle declared in that Act was one of the fairest things that was ever promulgated ; and lately Sir Stafford Northcote, in the speech quoted by Mr. Dadabhai in the Memorial, has expressed sentiments to the effect that it is desirable to admit the natives of India into the civil service. I for one think that the people of India have not only a claim but a right to be admitted, but the only difficulty is how to do it. That is the question with us. I am one of those who have never been so extremely favourable to competitive examination as some others have. I think, with Mr. Hodgson Pratt, that a competitive examination does not prove what you most want, namely, the moral qualities. I myself felt that so strongly, that when I was at the India Board, I gave three cadetships to my old school, Eton. Dr. Hawtrey, who was then the head master, said, "I suppose you will

require a high standard in the examinations?" I said, "Yes; I require a high standard in the examinations, but I want also the young men who are foremost in rowing boats, or the best players in the cricket club." Dr. Hawtrey stared a little, and he said, "You will be very popular when I announce that." I said, "I do not do it for the sake of popularity, but I shall insist upon some physical and moral superiority as well as intellectual." He selected three of the finest young men I ever saw in my life, and they were sent out to India; (two of them, I am sorry to say, died in the Mutiny). With regard to what I think ought to be done in this case, I am sorry to object to the memorial which has been so ably advocated by Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji; and I have been particularly struck with the conciseness and close reasoning of those natives who have addressed you this evening, the want of which is sometimes very much to be regretted in certain other assemblies, for I very often find my own countrymen so very discursive. Mr. Dadabhai proposes that we should present this memorial to Sir Stafford Northcote. Now I doubt whether that is consistent with the object of our Association. I doubt whether the members of an association, whose purpose and object is the collecting and arranging and communicating of information upon East Indian subjects, ought to address themselves to those high in office upon such subjects; but if they determine so to address them, I am quite certain of this, that they ought to lay before those high in office such well-digested plans as to show them that their notions are not immature and crude, but that they have been well-considered and discussed by the whole Association. In my opinion that is not the case with this memorial. Let us take the memorial itself. It very properly speaks in a very complimentary manner of Sir Stafford Northcote's late speech, but I do not know that that is a thing for us to speak about. Then Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji proceeds to point out how this admission to the civil service is to be effected. He proposes competitive examinations in India, and he says that those who have been trained in India should come over to England to stand a competitive examination with Englishmen here. I think that would be a great hardship upon those men. How are they to meet the expenses of coming over here, running the risk of being superseded by Englishmen here? If they failed in that competitive examination, would not they go back and complain? I know among my own countrymen there is not a single man rejected at a competitive examination who does not complain to every one that he has been

unfairly treated. At every examination the rejected persons complain of the partiality of the examination. I do not think that such an arrangement would tend to advance our interests in India. But, above all, there is the expense. How is that to be met? A person who succeeds in the examination gets, I believe, £200; therefore if a man has a strong chance of succeeding it may be worth his while to risk £150, which he would have to pay for his passage to England; but what would induce those to come who would probably be rejected? It might be the case that Sir Stafford Northcote might prefer some other mode than that suggested by the memorial. Do not let us wait upon the minister with a memorial which he might meet by saying, This or that recommendation in the memorial, is objectionable, and therefore I cannot accede to it. I cannot help thinking that the proper course, if you adopt the principle of the memorial, is, that it should be carried out by the appointment of a committee who should fully consider the subject, and then wait upon the Secretary of State in order to argue the question with him fully and clearly. How do we stand at the present moment? The memorial of my friend Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji has been circulated amongst us. We have had an opportunity of considering it. Sir Herbert Edwardes comes forward and proposes an amendment of considerable length, and a valuable amendment it is; but it is one which is infinitely wider, and requires much greater consideration than the memorial itself. I own myself unable to form a judgment whether it is an amendment that ought to be adopted or not from merely reading it. I am for giving the greatest consideration to Indian subjects, but coupled with that desire I wish to proceed steadily and considerately, because I know very well that nothing does a party so much mischief as preferring an ill-considered claim. If a party makes a claim upon a minister, which claim has not been maturely considered, he is put aside as a man making an extraordinary claim, and he stands very little chance of ever having it considered again. I remember Mr. Sidney Herbert telling me of his speaking to a person at the War Office, and some of the gentlemen of the office saying, "We are sorry to see you speaking to that man." Mr. Sidney Herbert said, "Why?" They answered, "Because he is an inventor; we put him aside long ago; we know him to be an inventor, and we have never had anything to say to him since." I do not mean to say that such considerations would influence Sir Stafford Northcote, but I say, do not subject yourselves to the possibility of such a rejection. Therefore, I

think it would be much better to submit the memorial or the proposed extension of it to a committee of the Association, who would be able to confer with Sir Stafford Northcote. I for one could not sign this memorial, and it would not do for the Association to go before Sir Stafford Northcote with a memorial not agreed to by the great majority of the Association. I am told that others have expressed the same opinion as I am expressing, that it would be inconsiderate and rash in your own interests to take this step at once. I am aware that these opinions are adverse to those entertained by many here, but I thought it my duty, being in the chair, to tell you what I thought of the matter before you proceeded further.

Sir HERBERT EDWARDES—Perhaps it would be desirable for Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji to give a little explanation with reference to that point which you mooted, of the expense to a native who has passed his examination, of coming over to England, and the probability that he would not be inclined to undertake it; you do not perhaps know that Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji had in his mind, that once having passed the competitive examination in India, he would come under the rules provided for all Englishmen, and have the allowance given him under the standing rules of the civil service.

Mr. DADABHAI NAOROJI—In the proposal made by me, the examination takes place in India just as it takes place here; the candidates that pass in India are exactly on the same footing as what are called selected candidates in England. After passing the competitive examination, there are what are called further examinations here, and it is for those further examinations here that I wish those natives to come here, which would be no hardship on them; the utmost sacrifice which they might be required to make, if the Government would not assist them, would be the voyage home; if the Government would pay that, then there would be no hardship, because, as soon as they come here they begin to prepare for their further examination; they get the first year 100*l*., and the second year 200*l*., and then, if they show the necessary proficiency in the subjects they are required to study, there is no competition and no rejection afterwards; they have only to show that they have spent two years in the necessary studies, having in view the special duties required of them in India; so that there is no risk of their being rejected. The competitive examination in India would be what it is here, and after they passed that they would be admitted

as selected candidates. As I am on my legs, allow me to add to what I have already said, that there is no practical difficulty in what is proposed. The whole thing is embraced in the rules published by the Secretary of State for India every year ; the Secretary of State for India has only to decide as to what proportion of natives it would be advisable to introduce into the civil service, and then to send out instructions to the local government to institute examinations of the same character and under the same rules that are followed here, under which examinations the candidates would be selected ; the number may be five or ten, or I should be satisfied if there were two for Bengal and one for each of the other presidencies. Those examinations would take place there under the same rules and the same arrangements under which they take place here. The best on the list would become the selected candidates, and when once they became selected candidates there would be no risk of failing in the competition. There are no practical details to propose ; the arrangement of the whole thing is already practically carried out. The simple question for the Secretary of State to decide being, what proportion of the appointments should be competed for in India, it would be, I think, more proper on the part of this Association to leave that to Sir Stafford Northcote and the Council. They are best able to judge as to that, and I have every confidence that they would do that which is right. The manner in which justice has been done in the case of Mysore, makes me perfectly confident that we have a Government not only willing to make professions, but willing to *do* what they profess. As I did not contemplate that any details should be proposed, except simply that a certain proportion of appointments to be decided on by the Secretary of State should be competed for in India, the managing committee, to whom this proposal was referred, thought wisely that we might at once go to the whole Association itself, and we have done so. If the Association are inclined to adopt the proposal of the noble chairman, of referring the matter back to a committee, I do not say anything against it, but there is nothing to be considered ; the whole thing is ready cut and dried. There are only two points to be decided by Sir Stafford Northcote : first, whether a certain number of appointments should be competed for in India or not, and next, what proportion of the appointments should be so competed for. With regard to the various remarks which have been made by Mr. Hodgson Pratt, I agree with the full force of them. When he, some

years ago, was anxious to promote the plan of bringing over to England young men to be educated, I endeavoured to contribute my humble mite to that endeavour. All I say upon the remarks he has addressed to you is this, that he attaches a little too much importance to an independent body of natives in India who had received their education in England, and who would spread themselves in all the different departments of life, being the only means by which the tone of society, and the status of the whole population would be raised ; for we must not forget that, attaching to the administration of the country itself, there are responsibilities that must be incurred ; and when a native is introduced into the administration he comes under a responsibility which an outsider cannot appreciate. If we had only a body of independent educated natives, we should have nothing but agitation ; there would be no counterpoise to it, there would be no men trained under the yoke of responsibility, who would tell them that there were such and such difficulties in the way of the administration. I have considered this matter very carefully for a long time. I have taken the utmost possible trouble to induce my friends to come over here for their education, and most of the twenty-five who have been referred to are under my care. I have taken that responsibility, because I feel strongly upon the point. I have taken that guardianship for the past twelve years with no little anxiety to myself, but I am glad to say that those young men have behaved most admirably, never having given me cause to complain, and the character that has been given of them, whether by the gentlemen with whom they have been residing, or by the professors of their college, has been that they have been very steady and very good. But in this way we cannot get the *best* talent. Therefore, I hope that it will not be considered by the Association that I have brought forward this question inconsiderately and immaturely. I do not see the necessity of troubling a committee to go into it again. Here I have my proposal in some detail :—"First Examination for the Civil Service of India, to be held in India." (I would be satisfied even with a few to begin with ; I suggest five.) "Five candidates shall be selected every year, as follows :—2 from Bengal, 1 from Bombay, 1 from Madras, 1 from the North-west Provinces and the Punjab. The examination shall be held in each of the above territories, under the instruction of the local government in the subjects, and according to the rules adopted from time to time by the Civil Service Commissioners for the first competition

examination in England. The highest in rank shall be deemed to be selected candidates for the civil service of India. The selected candidates shall, within three months of the announcement of the result of the examination, proceed to England, and the local government shall pay the passage-money. After arrival in England, these selected candidates shall be subject to the rules and terms for the subsequent 'further examinations,' allowances, &c. like the selected candidates of England." If it is necessary for a plan to be attached to the memorial, here is one. I admit the force of the remark made by Mr. Hodgson Pratt, that mere education in colleges and universities is not enough, that there are other qualifications necessary. But though I do not agree with those who say that the education given in India does not raise the moral as well as the intellectual character of the pupil, still I purposely make it essential that those natives who are selected for the service should come over to England for those two years, in order that they may acquire all the benefits in England which Mr. Hodgson Pratt so ably described. As to the competitive system, it must be recollected that it has been established as being the best system that can be adopted for arriving at the qualities and capabilities of a man. If the Council think that there ought to be a standard of proficiency at the oar, or at cricket, let them establish such a standard; I daresay the natives of India would be quite prepared to try a hand at bowling or at the oar with the natives of England; only, let every one be put on an equal footing. We no longer select men for the service in India according to the system of patronage; we know how that system worked in former times—how proprietors joined together to get their nephews in. I do not refer to past grievances; let the past be the past, we have enough to be thankful for; we select our best men in the best way in our power, by a competitive examination, and though, in a competition of 200 for 50 or 60 situations, there is some chance of an incompetent man getting in, by cramming or by some accident, still, where there is a competition of 100 or 1,000 for only one or two places, the chances are infinitesimally small that anybody who does not possess the highest order of intellect will be able to take those prizes. I beg to submit to our President, with very great deference, that the proposal I have made has been carefully considered. I have consulted several gentlemen who are deeply interested in the matter, and I hope our noble President will support me in

approving of this memorial, with the addition which Sir Herbert Edwardes has made, to which I have no objection; it gives the memorial a wider scope, and meets the other difficulty which our noble President suggested as to the expense. It is desirable, instead of simply allowing a few young men to enter the Civil Service, that we should also carry out a comprehensive principle of giving some opportunity to natives of entering upon other independent departments. I fully agree that the assistance proposed by Sir Herbert Edwardes' amendment should be held out to the youths of India; we want the best talent of the country brought here; therefore, I propose that Sir Herbert Edwardes' addition should be embodied in the memorial. Our noble President has said that this memorial does not properly come within the province of this Association. With every deference, I beg to differ from his Lordship. The very basis upon which this institution has been formed is, as expressed by the second rule, the promotion, by all legitimate means, of the interests and welfare of India generally. If the object and purpose of the Association is simply to supply information, I do not see that the Association can do any very great good; but if the Association takes up one subject after another, considerately and carefully, as our noble President suggests, and does actual practical good to the various interests of India, the Association then will have fulfilled its mission of bringing India and England together, doing justice to India, informing the people of this country of all that is necessary to be known by them in relation to Indian matters, and suggesting to them what they, in the situation in which Providence has placed them, as rulers of India, ought to do towards India. If the Association has not been formed to attain those objects, I do not see what good it can do. We may read papers here and have a pleasant discussion on them, and go away with the feeling that we have had a very successful meeting; but if we are to end there, what good shall we have done? What is the object of all our discussion? It is to take such practical steps as may influence the people of this country, and as may influence the Government to rectify existing evils, the rectifying of which would have the effect of consolidating the British rule in India, to the great benefit of both England and India.

Sir HERBERT EDWARDES—As mover of the amendment, I beg to say a few words in reply to your Lordship's remarks. First, with regard to the memorial, let me submit to my friend, Mr. Dadabhai, that we have

to bring this subject before the Secretary of State. In taking up this memorial with its amendment to the Secretary of State, we cannot dictate to him to do this or that ; we can only put our memorial with the amendment before him as a petition, and leave him either to act upon it or not act upon it, or to modify it as he chooses. Then, your Lordship has raised a different view of the subject from that taken by Mr. Dadabhai and myself, and has suggested that there are other members here present who would also differ from our view. Then I say, looking at our action as an Association, it is highly desirable that we should take those steps that would carry with them the unanimous and united force of our Association. There is nothing in the course proposed by your Lordship which at all militates against the memorial and my amendment. Your Lordship suggests that a committee from our own body should go to Sir Stafford Northcote and lay the subject before him. That seems to me to be precisely the thing we are doing in another form. I do not see any practical difference ; but if your Lordship prefers that course, I myself, as mover of the amendment, agree to it most heartily, seeing that by so doing we may carry the weight of the whole body with us, and be able to say that we are expressing the sense of the whole Association. Therefore I would beg to move that the following committee, (consisting of names that have been suggested by some members on my right) be submitted to the meeting as a committee to go up and make those representations. We can say exactly the same things by word of mouth that we have now put on paper, the advantage of which course would be that the Minister would be left rather more at liberty than if he had only the memorial to deal with. Therefore, I propose that Lord Lyveden, my own unworthy self, if you think proper, General North, Mr. Fowler, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, Mr. Manockjee Cursetjee, Mr. Hodgson Pratt, and any other two members whom you may select from the political committee, should ask leave to wait upon Sir Stafford Northcote, and make our representations upon this point.

Mr. Wood, in supporting the proposition of the Chairman, which he understood to be to refer the whole matter to a committee, in order that they might consider the pros and cons on one side and the other, said, it was a great question whether that system was a good one which brought natives of India over to this country to become Europeanized. If a native came to this country to receive his education he lost caste, and on returning to India, he had either to associate with Europeans who

treated him with contempt, or to come back to this country. It would therefore be an advantage if natives were allowed to pass their examinations entirely in India, so that they might not become outcasts from their co-religionists. The principle we should adopt was that adopted by the Mahomedan conquerors of India, who to a great extent amalgamated with the Hindus, and sympathized with them, and took them into their service: we, on the other hand, had no sympathy of feeling with them. If we treated the natives with generosity, if we put no unnecessary restraints upon them, if we treated them more as friends than as people separated from us, if we did not force them over to this country, more natives would come over to this country than would come otherwise. In ancient times the Romans used to treat the races subject to them with much more fairness than we had treated the Hindus, allowing them to take part in the service of the State; and there could be no danger from the adoption of such a course, with proper arrangements. The principle of generosity would breed satisfaction and contentment. He supported the proposition of the Chairman, that the matter should be referred to a committee to consider the matter on all sides, and to deal with it as they should think best for the interests of India, so as to carry out the object of the memorial. Mr. Dadabhai seemed to assume that if the selected candidates came over to this country, they would be necessarily elected, but during last year five candidates who passed the first examination, were in the subsequent examinations plucked.

Mr. DADABHAI NAOROJI—That is the case with the English also.

Mr. MANOCKJEE CURSETJEE—A little variety would, I think, be desirable, and if permitted by your Lordship, I will place the case in a somewhat different point of view from that in which it has hitherto been presented. We have heard a good deal of discussion upon a point upon which there was no necessity to waste words, viz. as to the mental capacity of the natives of India. That is admitted on all hands. It was only last night that I heard Colonel Sykes, in the course of the East India debate in the House of Commons, say, that the examinations which the natives of India undergo in the Universities of Madras, Bombay, and Calcutta, are far severer than those which they undergo here—that a student in India who could pass as a Bachelor of Arts would be a man of as great acquirements as one of the best Wranglers in the Universities of Cambridge or Oxford. As regards the mental capacity of the natives of India, I may cite an instance. I brought over my sons

four years ago to England, and left them for the purpose of prosecuting their studies. One of them entered Oxford, and within two years he passed three examinations, and he will be ready to take his Bachelor's degree next December. The Professor says that that is a distinction which few students attain to in the time. Other young Indian students have, in like manner, passed their examinations in the most satisfactory manner, reflecting credit on their masters and on themselves. Seeing that the natives of India have been declared by the legislature, and by the authorities, and by intelligent Englishmen generally, to be on a par with Europeans mentally, as well as morally and socially, it would, I think, be wrong for the British Government to take any steps that would impede their progress in the path of advancement. But the British Government have not been backward in what they have done ; they have shown every disposition to bring them forward when opportunities have occurred, and when they have been found to possess mental and moral fitness for the posts which they might be required to fill. It appears to me that the memorial is a very excellent one as far as its general features go, but if the natives have to undergo their first examination in India, and to come here afterwards for competition, there is a line of demarcation drawn, as it appears to me, between natives and Englishmen, which I for one would be sorry to see drawn. I have for the last thirty-five years been fighting the battle for the natives of India, in order to place them on an equal footing in every respect with Englishmen, contending that there should be no distinction of colour, caste, or creed, in the disposal of patronage, if natives are found to be equal with Europeans in every respect. I quite agree with what was very properly said by Mr. Henry Seymour in the House of Commons the other day, that it is to be regretted that in the institution of the Order of the Star of India a distinction should have been made between the two countries : that Order of the Star of India is not a thing to elevate the natives very much in the estimation of Europeans, they value much more British honours ; and if the natives of India had been admitted to one of those British honours it would have been far more complimentary and far more gratifying to them. I am very sorry to see such lines of demarcation drawn between the natives of India and Englishmen. If you admit that the natives of India socially as well as intellectually come up to the English standard for the covenanted service, let them enter it by right, and not merely as a beggarly favour. Let those natives who have the means of coming to

this country, and who can show that they are competent to enter the service, enter it as a right ; if they are not competent, let them remain at home, and do their work there as best they like. I was not aware that this meeting was going to be held till nine o'clock this morning, when I received a note from Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji (to whom I give every credit for his patriotism in advocating this matter on the part of the natives of India), which letter had gone after me to Southampton, and come back here ; therefore I have not been able to bring with me a correspondence which I have had with a number of eminent persons in India on a subject which I had proposed to take up, viz. the covenanted and the uncovenanted service of India. I am sorry I have not those papers by me, but I think I may refer, as bearing upon this point, to one of my letters to the Parliamentary Committee on the renewal of the Charter in 1853, the sentiments I expressed there going a great way towards meeting the views expressed by several speakers here. With your permission I will, therefore, read a few extracts therefrom, which will place the matter in the light in which I think it should be viewed. "The first requirement of the natives of India is to bring about a change in relation to their ideas of morality, ways of thinking, and modes of acting in the ordinary affairs of life. Educating, and thereby enlightening the natives of India, is one thing, and improving their morals, and rendering them befitting members of the community in general, and European society in particular, is altogether another thing. In Europe, except among the lowest order of degeneracy, such distinction exists not ; for their moral as well as mental growths, from their very infancy, are peculiarly reared up, whether at home, in school, or in college. Here the constitution of native society, native habits, ideas, manners, and customs are so different, that to give an adequate conception thereof, to one born and bred in England, would be a hopeless task." And then after pointing out how best to improve the moral condition of the natives of India, viz. by female education and by boarding-schools, I go to the subject-matter of this night's discussion : "According to the ideas of the warmest advocates of the Christian religion, its propagation among the natives of India is one of the means—some of them say the only means—by which the Indians can be regenerated ; whilst others, not going to that extent, contend that extensive diffusion of an English education in all its higher branches, among the natives, without being based upon this or that particular religion, is the thing for them. This class of thinkers

can neither be both right nor both wrong, and yet it is a science, abstruse in itself, to devise the very best system of education; so many and so diverse have been the opinions of those competent to decide it, that without venturing to interfere in this discussion, (I confess my inability to discuss it), whether religious or secular education is the preferable of the two, I would with every diffidence submit what I humbly conceive to be a third means by which the natives of India can be as well, perhaps better and sooner, reclaimed from their existing state." And as to the system so ably and so well advocated by Sir Herbert Edwardes to-day, I say, "The book readings and lecture-hearings in schools and colleges, which the rising generation of the natives of India now receive, are not enough to bring up their moral development to the English standard. This must be effected, not by mere listening to the precepts of the European authors, but by transcribing the examples of high-souled Europeans, and others of exemplary character. Their minds, like soil, must be carefully prepared at a tender age to receive the seeds of morality; and after that they must be largely thrown among high-toned Europeans, so that they, the natives, may be caught by, or infected with, the high-wrought feelings of Europe. Under the existing system children go to their day-school, where they read and hear lectures or moral precepts conducive to their welfare in life; but no sooner do they return home than they find those whom they look to as patterns of perfection—their parents and elders—practising the very reverse of what they had read or had preached to them in the school; and this constantly, almost daily, in succession." What Europeans think to be wrong, they do not think to be wrong, and what Englishmen think to be right they do not think to be right. They take a view of things from a different stand-point. I do not say that they are wrong according to their views—they act according to the light which the great Almighty has given them to see by. "The effect, then, of what they observe in their parents and elders at home, and not what they read and hear in the school, must naturally be the greater on their mind, which necessarily takes seed from what they have observed rather than what they are told; and seeds thus early sown on their plastic minds take deeper root, not easily to be destroyed when grown up. A boarding-school, then, for the native children, is a great desideratum; it is just as indispensable to their moral development as food is to invigorate their bodily constitution; a boarding-school where they will be

practically trained up in principles of sound morality, under befitting governors and governesses, due regard being paid to their parents' wishes in respect to the peculiarities of their religion, as to eatables, &c. within its walls ; so that they, the children, might as seldom as possible, and not constantly, come in contact with those whose ideas, habits, and manners appear so destructive to the growth of enlightenment in the real sense of the word. Then, as soon as they finish their elementary course of education in such boarding-schools, the native youths should be transferred to college, (or a university, if practicable, on the plan Mr. Cameron has so well advocated), or where natives as well as Europeans are made to finish their respective courses of study—the natives in the higher branches of European sciences, and in acquiring the laws and constitutions of India and England ; and the Europeans in Oriental philology, and institutions and peculiarities appertaining to the natives, under their several denominations. Thus by bringing well-born and well-bred European youths and natives together into close contact and unreserved intercourse, they might form a community of ideas among them in respect to the several peculiarities which distinguish the people of England from the people of India ; and thus, whilst the sons of the respective countries progress in their works of enlightenment under one and the same roof, those of India cannot fail to inoculate from the Europeans that moral tone and high feeling which would not simply render them fitting members of the community in general, or implant them in a position in the society of European gentlemen, but, what is more (and which is by far of greater consequence to them in their existing state), enable them to maintain that position." I say, therefore, instead of letting the natives of India complete a portion of their education in India, and then sending them to England to finish it, reverse the order ; let the natives of India come to England and undergo their preliminary examination here, and then let them finish it in India. Let the final examination be there, in order that English influences may be early impressed upon their minds. There are a number of other subjects of which I have made a note, on which I should have liked to say a few words, but at this time of night it would be impossible for me to go into them. The subject is one of such vast importance that it can scarcely be sufficiently discussed to-night, and I go so far with his Lordship in thinking that if the further discussion of the subject is not postponed to a future meeting, it should be referred to a committee to take

into consideration the several matters which have been discussed. At the same time this must be borne in mind, that the Indian authorities have at present, if I am correctly informed, this very subject under their consideration. Let us see what they are going to do, because if they met all our objects or several of them, we could then suggest amendments. I do not know that it would be desirable to go before Sir Stafford Northcote with the memorial in its present shape. The memorial seems to ask that one portion of the examination should be in India, and another portion in this country, apparently drawing a line of demarcation between natives and Europeans, of which I would disapprove.

Sir HERBERT EDWARDES—The object was to put them on an equal footing.

Mr. MANOCKJEE CURSETJEE—Has the Secretary of State the power to do that? He could not do it, I suppose, without altering the existing arrangement. He would have to go to Parliament to alter the principle upon which civil service examinations are now conducted, and therefore he would have to wait till next year. If the Secretary of State has that power, well and good; but if not, then the subject ought to be well considered before he is asked to go to Parliament to alter the existing arrangement. I have a great deal more to say on the subject, which I will reserve for a future opportunity, and I will conclude by saying that I am neither for impeding the progress of the memorial, nor for accelerating it. I am neither for nor against the memorial.

Mr. NOWROZJEE FURDONJEE—I will only detain the meeting a few moments. With reference to the remark which the last speaker made, that he understands that the subject is under the consideration of the authorities in this country, I also have been given to understand that that is the case. That being so, I say, in order to enable the authorities to come to a proper decision on the matter, there is the greater necessity for immediate action on the part of this Association; otherwise, after perhaps an adverse decision, we may be too late. A memorial from this Association would perhaps not have any great effect, beyond assisting the authorities in coming to a proper and right decision. And, therefore, if the Association are in favour of the proposal of Mr. Dadabhai, and I think the meeting are almost unanimous upon that point, I would entreat them either to adopt the memorial as it stands or with any material modifications which may be considered necessary; or, if it be considered absolutely necessary that the matter should be referred to a

committee, to appoint that committee—either a committee to be named, or one of the committees of the association—leaving it to that committee to put the memorial in a proper shape. As we appear to be almost unanimous upon the memorial, and as we are told that the subject is under consideration, I implore the meeting to come to some practical resolution upon the subject, so that our object may be carried out either by the Association as a body assembled at this meeting, or by a committee whom it may be thought advisable to appoint—either a committee of the Association or any other committee. But I am decidedly of opinion that no time should be lost, particularly on a subject like this, where there seems to be no difference of opinion, and where the matter has been fully discussed in all its bearings. With regard to what has been stated, that some of the natives of India are not well-disposed towards some of their countrymen elevated to high posts, I beg to say that I do not agree with that statement, and in refutation of it I would beg to read an extract from an official gazette of the Governor in council showing the estimation in which a native was held by his countrymen. "The Governor-General in council has received with sincere regret, official intimation of the death of the Honourable Shumboonath Pundit, one of the judges of Her Majesty's High Court at Fort William. The Honourable the Chief Justice, in communicating this intelligence to the Governor-General, has said, so far as Mr. Justice Shumboonath Pundit was concerned, the experiment of appointing a native gentleman to a seat in the High Court has succeeded. He had a considerable knowledge of his profession, and a thorough acquaintance with the natives. I have always found him upright, honourable and independent, and I believe that he was looked up to by his countrymen with respect and confidence. The interest which, both in India and England, attaches to the experiment of placing a native gentleman in the highest judicial situation in the country, has induced the Governor-General in council to make public the opinion of the Honourable the Chief Justice, in which his Excellency in Council entirely agrees." Similar testimony might be adduced in abundance with regard to the estimation in which natives filling high posts are held by their fellow-countrymen, and with regard also to their capacity to fill such situations. At this late hour I will not detain the meeting with any further observations, but there can be no question that such a measure as that proposed is absolutely necessary. There are no objections raised to it which call for any answer, and therefore I entreat

the meeting to come to a resolution, in order that the memorial may be adopted and sent to its destination as early as possible.

The CHAIRMAN—The adoption of the memorial having been proposed by Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, and an amendment having been moved by Sir Herbert Edwardes, the question I should have to put is, that the amendment be added, and then that the memorial be adopted ; but, in consequence of what I said, Sir Herbert Edwardes proposed, in furtherance of my view, that a committee should be appointed. As Mr. Wood rightly assumed, Sir Herbert Edwardes was not quite correct in supposing that I meant that that committee should merely wait upon the Secretary of State with the memorial. I meant that the whole question should be left to that committee, to put it in such shape as they might think expedient to present it to the Secretary of State ; by which I meant that they should consider the memorial, and the amendment, and the whole of the detail, and then submit their proposal to a meeting of the whole Association. When I said that I thought the proposal was immature, I meant that it did not seem to my mind to be in a shape to be laid before Sir Stafford Northcote ; I did not mean to say that it had not been well considered by Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji. It has been proposed that the committee should consist of the following gentlemen—(reading the names).

Sir HERBERT EDWARDES—I agreed to the course your Lordship suggested, under the understanding that your Lordship meant that instead of taking these two formal papers to the Secretary of State, we should go without any paper, and merely express our views *videlicet* *voce* to the Secretary of State. That I think a very good proposition, and it would come to the same thing ; it would be less formal, and might in some respects be more advisable ; but if your Lordship, in suggesting that the matter be referred to a committee, thinks that the subject requires further consideration, with a view to throw the whole subject once more into the cauldron, then I should withdraw my proposition with respect to a committee, because I do think that we have discussed the question very fully. Most of us have thought of it for a very long time, and I quite enter into the feelings with which Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji put it before us in so simple a form, instead of going into great detail, because I believe that this subject is not strange to the present Indian Government at home. Sir Stafford Northcote, with his kind feelings to the natives of India, has

himself had it very much at heart, and I think it is only necessary for us as it were to touch the key-note of the subject to bring from him some response in a tangible shape, and that we had better leave it in his hands than appear to dictate to him by putting forward a cut and dried scheme. Personally, I should much prefer that the subject should be dealt with straight off by the meeting to-night, than that it should be protracted by further discussion in a committee to whom totally different views might perhaps be presented than have been presented to this meeting to-night. If any members of the Association who are absent entertain different views, it was open to them to have attended to-night and expressed those views. Therefore, if your Lordship is content to recommend that a committee should be appointed, who should wait upon Sir Stafford Northcote to represent to him what is set forth in these two papers, to advocate before him the views therein expressed, I should heartily agree ; but if your Lordship proposes, on the other hand, that that committee should reconsider the whole subject, I should differ, and ask your Lordship to allow Mr. Dadabhai's motion to be put.

The CHAIRMAN—My view was to give as great weight as possible to the recommendation of the Association ; even to-night we have heard several persons, who agree generally with the principle of the memorial, dissenting as to the way in which it should be carried out. One gentleman suggested that the examinations should take place in India, and should be final in India. That suggestion is, I think, well worth considering. As far as I am concerned, I think it would require some consideration whether it would not be better to suggest that as being preferable to compelling natives to come over here. At all events, that is a matter for consideration ; unless you go before Sir Stafford Northcote as a body, you have no weight. Sir Herbert Edwardes, and some others who have been in India, would carry with them the weight due to their own individual opinions, but what you require is the weight of the whole Association saying, We agree to this particular plan. I do not think you have arrived at that point at present. With respect to Sir Herbert Edwardes' remark that those who dissented from this memorial might have attended this meeting and expressed their dissent, we all know that the 1st of August is made the plea for the separation of assemblies, and at this period of the year many people have left London, who would otherwise have been present ; but I may state the fact, which I did not

know when I stated my opinion just now, that Lord Kellie and General Jacob have both written to the Secretary to say that they think the matter should be referred to a select committee. I now put the motion that the memorial be adopted, and that the amendment moved by Sir Herbert Edwardes be added to it.

Mr. NOWROZJEE FURDONJEE—I wish to propose this with reference to the examination proposed in the memorial. It suggests that the further examination should be held in England. I think it would be preferable if a clause were added to say that they might be held in England, or, if deemed advisable, they might be held in India.

The CHAIRMAN—This bears out what I said, that there are all sorts of differences of opinion, even in this Association.

Mr. NOWROZJEE FURDONJEE—I would leave that to the Secretary of State to determine.

Sir HERBERT EDWARDES—I think the coming over to England is the pith of the matter.

Mr. PRATT—I would rather that they were not admitted to the civil service of India unless they came to this country.

The memorial was put and carried.

The addition to it proposed by Sir Herbert Edwardes was also put and carried, and also the motion that the memorial, with the addition, be presented to Sir Stafford Northcote by a committee consisting of General North, Sir Herbert Edwardes, R. N. Fowler, Esq., Hodgson Pratt, Esq., Dadabhai Naoroji, Esq., Manockjee Cursetjee, and two members of the political committee.

General NORTH—Before the meeting breaks up, I hope we shall pass a unanimous vote of thanks to our noble President for taking the chair to-night, for the kind interest he appears to take in the Association, and for the very good practical advice he has given us.

The motion having been seconded, was carried unanimously.

The CHAIRMAN—I am very much obliged to you. I have occupied the chair with much pleasure to-night, for I have heard a most interesting discussion. I hope in what I have said I have not been misunderstood. I did not question the principle of the memorial, namely, the advisability of affording further facilities for the admission of natives into the Indian civil service; I only questioned the mode in which it was proposed to be carried into execution.

The memorial, as adopted, is as follows:—

" We, the members of the East India Association, beg respectfully to submit that the time has come when it is desirable to admit the natives of India to a larger share in the administration of India than hitherto.

" To you, sir, it is quite unnecessary to point out the justice, necessity, and importance of this step, as in the debate in Parliament, on May 24 last, you have pointed out this so emphatically and clearly, that it is enough for us to quote your own noble and statesmanlike sentiments. You said—' Nothing could be more wonderful than our empire in India ; but we ought to consider on what conditions we held it, and how our predecessors held it. The greatness of the Mogul empire depended upon the liberal policy that was pursued by men like Akbar, availing themselves of Hindu talent and assistance, and identifying themselves as far as possible with the people of the country. He thought that they ought to take a lesson from such a circumstance, and if they were to do their duty towards India they could only discharge that duty by obtaining the assistance and counsel of all who were great and good in that country. It would be absurd in them to say that there was not a large fund of statesmanship and ability in the Indian character.'—(Times, of 25th May, 1867.) With these friendly and just sentiments towards the people of India we fully concur, and, therefore, instead of trespassing any more upon your time, we beg to lay before you our views as to the best mode of accomplishing the object.

" We think that the competitive examinations for a portion of the appointments to the Indian civil service should be held in India, under such rules and arrangements as you may think proper. What portion of the appointments should be thus competed for in India we cannot do better than leave to your own judgment. After the selection is made in India, by the first examination, we think it essential that the selected candidates be required to come to England to pass their further examinations with the selected candidates of this country.

" In the same spirit, and with kindred objects in view for the general good of India, we would ask you to extend your kind encouragement to native youths of promise and ability to come to England for the completion of their education. We believe that if scholarships, tenable for five years in this country, were to be annually awarded by competitive examination in India to native candidates between the ages of 15 and 17, some would compete successfully in England for the Indian civil service, while others would return in various professions to India, and where by

degrees they would form an enlightened and unprejudiced class, exercising a great and beneficial influence on native society, and constituting a link between the masses of the people and their English rulers.

"In laying before you this memorial we feel assured, and we trust that you will also agree with us, that this measure, which has now become necessary by the advancement of education in India, will promote and strengthen the loyalty of the natives of India to the British rule, while it will also be a satisfaction to the British people to have thus by one more instance practically proved its desire to advance the condition of their Indian fellow-subjects, and to act justly by them.

"We need not point out to you, sir, how great an encouragement these examinations in India will be to education. The great prizes of the appointments will naturally increase vastly the desire for education among the people."

DEPUTATION TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR
INDIA.

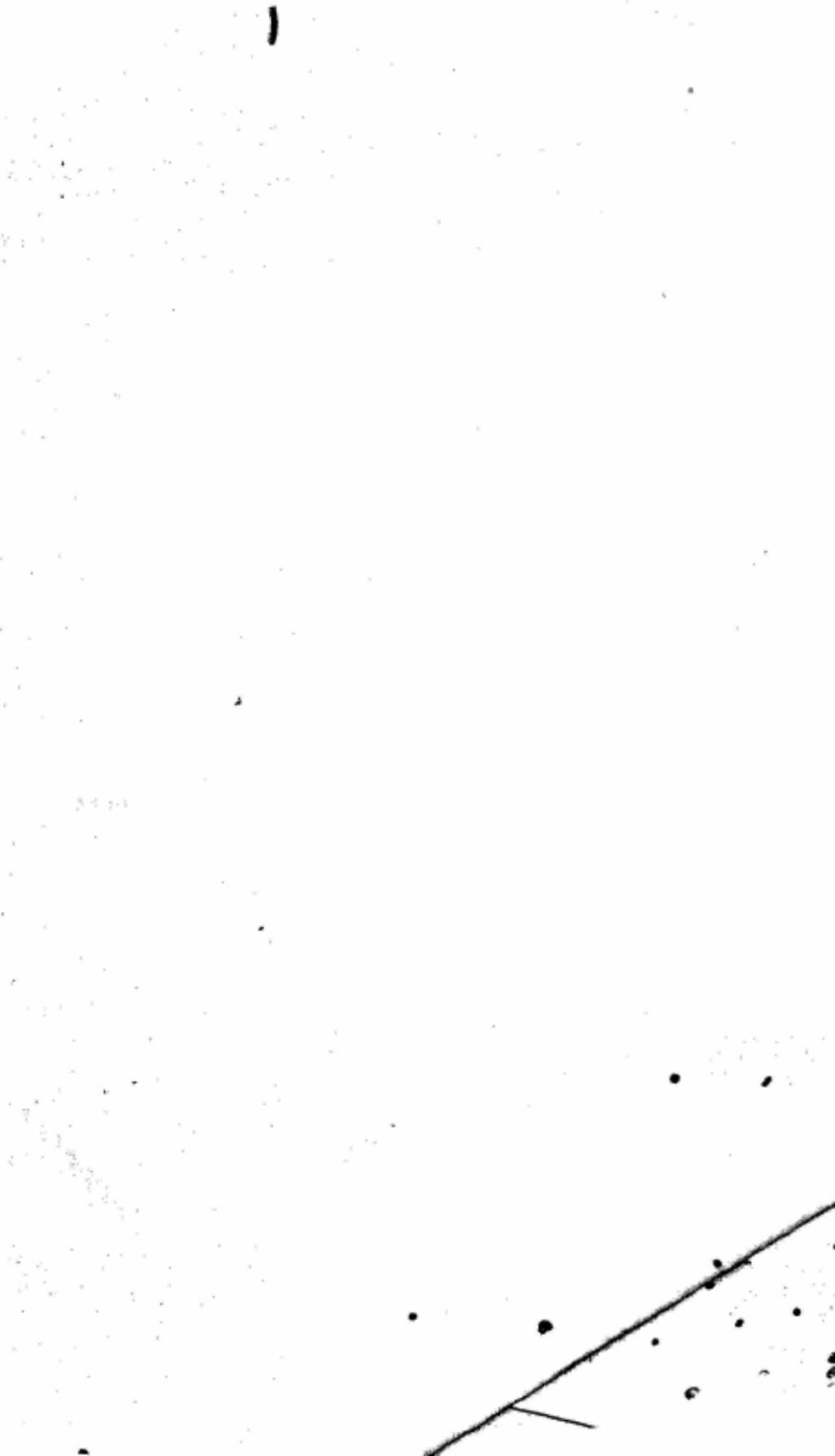
A DEPUTATION from the East India Association, consisting of Colonel Sykes, M.P., Mr. R. N. Fowler, Captain Powlett, Captain Harby Barber, Mr. S. P. Low, Mr. Hodgson Pratt, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, &c. waited on Sir Stafford Northcote on Wednesday, August 21, for the purpose of presenting a petition. Colonel Sykes explained the objects of the memorial, and dwelt upon the absolute necessity of the successful native candidates for civil appointments visiting England. He enlarged on the change which contact with English society, English industry, English influence, produced on the views of a native. He told how, when in Durbar, all the Nepal chiefs clamoured to be led against the English during the mutinies, Jung Bahadoor alone declared such a course to be a fatal one, because from what he had seen in England, and from his personal intercourse with Englishmen, he was certain that, however successful an attack might be for a time, the English in the end would prevail. Colonel Sykes went on to speak of the ability of the natives to pass high examinations, as the examinations in the Indian universities proved. He pointed out that the proposal to award scholarships for competition in India, to enable natives to come to England to complete their education, emanated from Sir Herbert Edwardes, who, from his experience and ability, must carry weight in such a matter.

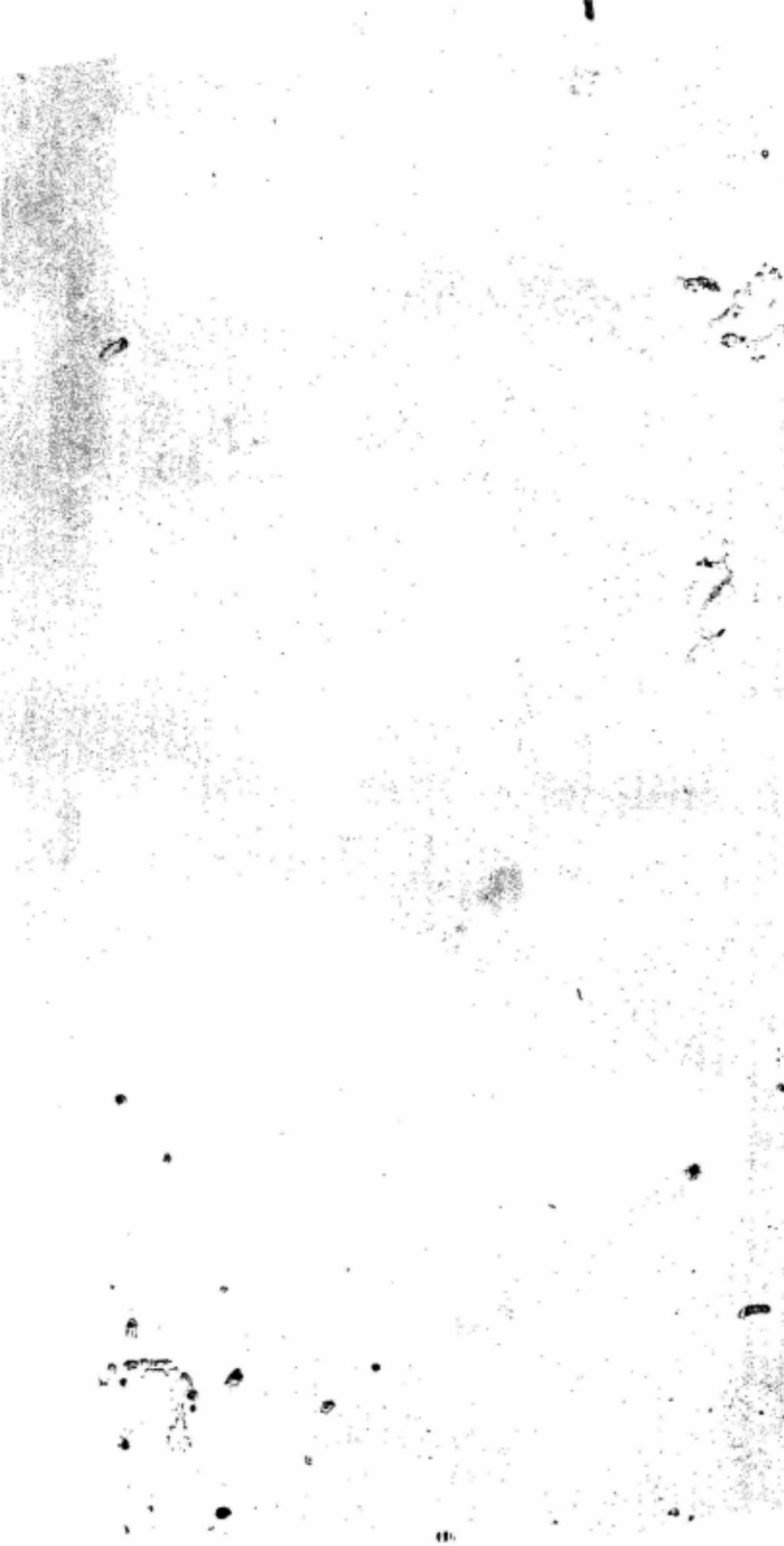
Sir STAFFORD NORTHCOTE said he had the question under consideration, and had conversed with Sir Herbert Edwardes and others on it, and Sir Herbert had furnished him with a paper on it. Two plans were suggested—the one proposed that appointments should be assigned for competition in India, the other that scholarships should be given to enable natives to come to finish their education in England. The ~~first~~ would manifestly be the most convenient for the natives themselves; but it was urged in favour of the second, that it would secure a more enterprising class than the first—men with more back-bone—and he

admitted the force of that. Moreover, he quite saw the advantage to India of a more efficient class which had had an English training. He took a very great interest in the matter, and was inclined to approve both proposals. He was corresponding with Sir J. Lawrence and the Indian Government on the subject.

Sir Stafford Northcote then conversed with Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji and other members of the Association on the Gilchrist Scholarships, which are worth 100*l.* annually, and are tenable by the natives of India for five years. He thought it would be feasible to give the scholars a free passage in the Government transit-ships. He further questioned Mr. Dadabhai about the expenses of the Indian students under his care.

Mr. HODGSON PRATT thought it was very important that natives should be brought to this country when young, before their habits and prejudices were confirmed ; he hoped that both proposals would be approved. He dreaded the disposition to look upon Government office as the one thing needful, and he hoped that steps would be taken to encourage the growth of an English-trained independent class. He was of opinion that experience has shown that something more than mere scholastic education is needful by the natives of India ; they had shown great receptive power, but they had not shown the love of learning and independence of thought that it was expected the universities would develop, and he believed that early training in England would do much to arouse them.





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